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THE FOLK-ELEMENT IN HINDU CULTURE

A CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIO-RELIGIOUS STUDIES
IN HINDU FOLK-INSTITUTIONS

BY

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(Hindu Economics and Politics), and Author of *The Positive Background*
of Hindu Sociology; *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*;
Love in Hindu Literature, etc.

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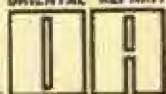
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TO
THE FOLK-INDIA OF ALL AGES
THIS SMALL WORK
IS DEDICATED

PREFACE

THE present work is based on a study of some of the folk-arts, folk-traditions, folk-songs and folk-festivals of Bengal. It is to a certain extent complementary to the author's *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, in which the object has been to focus the attention on the socio-economic and socio-political aspects of Hindu Culture.

In the reconstruction of Indian history, modern scholarship has to be devoted more and more to the exposition of the influence that the masses of the country have ever exerted in the making of its civilization. It is a sign of the times that with this has been felt the need of greater recourse to vernacular literature as an important source of information.

During the last decade or so considerable research has been bestowed on Indian vernaculars, from the philological and the historical points of view. Marathi, Hindi, Tamil and Bengali scholars have been able thus to throw new light on political, linguistic, social and religious developments. A systematic work utilizing these vernacular evidences has yet to be attempted.

It has not been the aim of the present writer to compile such a comprehensive treatise. His scope, on the contrary, is quite limited. *The Folk-Element in Hindu Culture* is mainly a study of the relations

between Shaiva-cum-Sháktaism and Buddhism, both descriptive and historical, obtaining among the Bengali-speaking population of Eastern India. He has in contemplation to bring out later a parallel monograph on the folk-institutions and folk-minstrels of the Vaiṣṇava Cult.

The evidences have been derived from a first-hand exploration of oral tradition and folk-lore, as well as from mediæval Bengali literature, especially from old MSS. The author is indebted to the work of the folk-lorists associated with the literary academies of Bengal, e.g. the Bangiya Sâhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta, Sâhitya Pariṣat of Rangpur, Sâhitya Pariṣat of Dacca, and the like.

The author is fortunate in having secured the assistance of Mr. Haridâs Pâlit, of the District Council of National Education, Malda, who for over a quarter of a century has been collecting information as to popular life, faith, arts, crafts, songs, ceremonies, etc., in Râdha and Varedran, the Western and Northern districts of Bengal—those regions especially which had been the centres of political and cultural greatness in mediæval times. Mr. Pâlit is now in possession of several hundred old MSS., in the Bengali, Ooriya and Sanskrit languages, and he has written out notes of his studies which now amount to several volumes of considerable size. These volumes of notes may be looked upon as parts of a history of Bengal *as spoken by the village folk*, since in them are recorded faithfully the traditions and sentiments of the people about themselves, their localities, their neighbours and their past. A portion of Mr. Pâlit's notes has been published in the form of articles in Bengali reviews, and also as a book which has been liberally drawn upon for this work.

In his presidential address to the Folklore Society of London, Prof. R. R. Marett read a paper entitled *Folklore and Psychology*, in which he remarked: "To be a folklorist worthy of the name, you must first have undergone initiation amongst the folk, must have become one of them inwardly and in the spirit". In the introduction to his historical work, *Ādyaṛ Gambhīrā*, Mr. Pālit gives an account of his folklorist career and methods, from which it would appear that he has had that "initiation amongst the folk" of which Dr. Marett speaks. Says Mr. Pālit:—

"It was in the month of Vaishākha (April-May) that I first entered Malda. Shortly after my arrival here, the Gambhīrā festivities were started on the Bāro-iyārī-talā (a place set apart for public amusement at public cost) of Mokdumpur. I witnessed them and felt myself quite charmed by the grand ideas underlying these festivities. . . .

"It was the stream of novel ideas and sentiments started within me by witnessing the Gambhīrā that prompted me to collect materials for writing the history of Malda. And it was while engaged in this task that the glorious pictures of old Gauḍa and Pundra Vardhana were conjured up before and dazzled my mental eyes. The more the Gambhīrā has unfolded itself before me, the more have I enjoyed the music of the legends and stories of these places, and felt myself irresistibly inclined to look for its gamut. This search has put me in possession of many MSS.

"For about twenty long years, however, my sole enjoyment was confined to tracing the rivers and traversing the woods, travelling about the lake-like tanks and seeing the (old dilapidated) forts, listening to legends and stories from the lips of illiterate villagers

and collecting the varied materials of history. During this period never did I cherish the hope nor did I ever entertain the wish that I should ever enter the literary world as a writer. It was to satisfy my own curiosity that I thus looked for materials of history, and it was to refresh my own memory that I jotted down notes."

The author of the present brochure, based mainly on Mr. Palit's notes and writings, regards this small volume as a result of preliminary spadework in the Data of Hindu Sociology. He has, therefore, avoided comparisons and interpretations excepting in a few places only to elucidate the topics dealt with. The following observations, however, may be recorded here :

1. The masses and the folk have contributed to the making of Hindu Culture in all its phases no less than the court and the classes.

2. Secular, material and social interests, as contrasted with the other-worldly and spiritual ideals, have had considerable influence in moulding Hindu life and thought.

3. The caste-system has never been a disintegrating factor in Hindu communal existence, and is most probably a very recent institution.

4. Hinduism is an eclectic and ever-expansive socio-religious system built up through the assimilation of diverse ethnic, natural and spiritual forces during the successive ages of Indian history.

5. There has ever been an attempt to govern the folk-customs, popular faith, image-worship and public festivals by the transcendental conceptions of the Divinity of Man and the Transitoriness of this World. The folklore of the Hindus is nothing but the adaptation of their metaphysical culture-lore to the instincts and aptitudes of the "man in the street"; or, obversely,

the interpenetration of the grosser systems of thought and activity with the conceptions of a higher system of Life-values and Life-attitudes.

6. The religious beliefs, practices and customs of the people are fundamentally the same in *San goku* (or the three countries, viz. India, China and Japan). What pass for Buddhism in the lands of Confucius and the Shintō Cult are but varieties of the same faith that is known as Tantric and Purāṇic Hinduism in the land of Buddha. The reasons are not only to be found in the intercourse between the three countries both by land and sea during the Tāng-Sung period of Chinese history, the Augustan age of culture in the Middle Kingdom (7th-13th cent.), synchronous with the Vardhana-Pāla-Chola epoch of Indian history, and the Nārā-Kāmākūrā epoch of Japanese, but also probably in the common mentality that characterizes the Asiatic peoples.

To maintain the character of this work as a contribution to general Sociology, it has been thought undesirable to give copious details and dates of Indian political history. It need be remarked, however, that the chronology and identity of most of the mediæval works and authors are yet anything but finally settled. With regard to the authorities consulted the following rules have been observed :

1. To give the complete translations of extracts from MSS. in the body of the book.
2. To refer to and quote from only such works published in Bengali as are easily accessible.
3. To refrain from giving chapter and verse in the case of standard authorities, especially in instances where the historical facts are very well known.

The author has gleaned facts and ideas from the following :

1. Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa and Indo-Aryans*.

2. The writings of Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstri, in "The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" (Calcutta); and of Dr. Waddell in the J.R.A.S. (London).

3. Mr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*.

4. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Dās's *Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow*.

5. Mr. Dineschandra Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature*.

6. Mr. Nagendranāth Vasu's *Vishwakōṣa* ("Encyclopædia Indica" in Bengali), *Modern Buddhism* and *Archæological Survey of Mayurbhanj*.

7. The works or articles of Dr. Rādhākumud Mookerji, author of *Indian Shipping*; Dr. A. K. Coomāraswāmy, the art-historian and art-critic; Prof. Rākhāldās Banerji, of the Indian Museum, Calcutta; Mr. Narendra Nāth Law, M.A., B.L.; Prof. Rabindra-nārāyan Ghosh, of the Dawn Society, Calcutta; and Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti, M.A., B.L., of the Provincial Civil Service, Bengal.

8. The contributions of Messrs. Akshay Kumār Maitra, B.L., and Ramāprasād Chanda, B.A., of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi; Mr. Naliniranjan Pandit, of Nadia; Mr. Yogendranāth Gupta, author of *Vikramapura*; Mr. Kumudnāth Lāhiri, of Moorshidabad; Mr. Nalini Kānta Bhattasālī, M.A., of the Dacca Museum, Dacca; Mr. Binod Behārī Rai, of Rajshahi; the late Rādhes Chandra Seth, B.L., and Pandits Rajanikānta Chakravarti and Vidhu Sekhar Sāstri, of Malda; and of other students of Bengalee Culture, published in vernacular monthlies, e.g. "Bangadarshana," "Sāhitya," "Pravāsi," "Grihastha," "Mānasi,"

"Pratibhā," "Sammilan," "Bangiya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā," "Rangpur Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā," etc.

The author is personally indebted to Prof. Rādhā-kamal Mukerjee, M.A., of Kriṣṇath College, Moorshidabad, and Mr. Hemchandra Das Gupta, B.M.E. (Michigan), of the District Council of National Education, Malda, who, in the course of their educational work among the rural folk of the country, have been able to collect some interesting data of their social life; and also to Mr. Kumudini Kānta Ganguli, B.A., of Dacca, who has been of great help in explaining old Bengali and archaic expressions occurring in the salutation-hymns and other MSS.

The work owes its present form to many sources as has been indicated above, but to none more than to Mr. Hemendra Kishor Rakshit, B.A. (Wisconsin, U.S.A.).

It has to be added that portions of this book have been published as articles in "The Modern World" (Madras), "The Vedic Magazine" (Hardwar), and "The Collegian" (Calcutta).

A word in conclusion as to the diacritical marks :

Â, â = long *a*; Ñ, ñ = cerebral *n*; both illustrated in the word Purāṇa.

Sh, sh = palatal *s*; e.g. Shiva.

Ṣ, ṣ = cerebral *s*; e.g. Akṣobhya.

Î, î = *ee*; e.g. Kālî.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THE MIDDLE-WEST, U.S.A.,

April 15, 1915.

P.S.—Gambhīrā, the main theme of this work, has been a matter of personal knowledge to the author for the last twenty years. In its present form the work,

small as it is, was conceived in India in 1913, and written out partly in England in 1914 and partly in America in 1915. During the last few years there have been several publications on allied subjects, of which the most important are :

1. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivaism and Minor Religious Systems*, by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar ("The Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research," Strassburg, 1913).

2. *The Bodhisattva Tītsāṅg (Jizo) in China and Japan*, by M. W. De Visser in "The Ostasiatische Zeitschrift" (July, 1913—December, 1914, Berlin).

3. *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, by Mrs. A. Getty (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1914).

4. *Kashmir Śaivaism*, by J. C. Chatterji (Srinagar, Kashmir, India, 1914).

5. *The Tantra of the Great Liberation*, and 6. *Hymns to the Goddess*, by Avalon (Luzac & Co., London, 1914).

7. H. P. Sāstri's contributions on Mediæval Buddhism to the Bengali monthly "The Nārāyaṇa" (1915).

Among archæological works may be mentioned the third edition of Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1914), in which the author has drawn prominent attention to the achievements of the Pāla Emperors and their successors the Senas in making Bengal "a great power" in India (A.D. 800-1200); and *The Pālas of Bengal* (Memoir of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1915), and *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa* (Calcutta, 1915) or "History of Bengal" (—A.D. 1200), written in Bengali language, both by Rakhaldās Banerji, who has thrown a flood of light on the international relations of the Bengalees with the other peoples of India during a period which will remain obscure for a considerable time

yet. The race-intermixture and socio-religious transformation effected by military-political revolutions in Eastern India can be easily deduced from the inscriptions and other evidences on which these three works are based.

The following three historical novels in Bengali published at Calcutta during 1915 also furnish sidelights on the subject-matter dealt with in the present volume :

1. *Shashāṃka*—by Rakhāldās Banerji, dealing with life and thought in Bengal in the 7th century A.D.

2. *Dharmapāla*—by R. D. Banjeri, dealing with life and thought in Bengal in the 9th century A.D.

3. *Chāndeli*—by Haridās Pālit, dealing with life and thought in Bengal in the 12th century A.D.

To those who are unfamiliar with the names of the gods and goddesses of the people of India, *The Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists* (Harrap, London, 1912), by Sister Niveditā and Dr. Coomāraswāmy, with illustrations by painters of the Nationalist School of Indian Art, may be recommended.

The terms Hinduism, Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism, etc., are very ambiguous and more or less misnomers. These have been discussed in the author's latest work, *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes: A Study in the Tendencies of Asiatic Mentality* (Shanghai, 1916). The following is an extract from it :

"The Buddhism that came into the land of Confucius was thus only one of the expressions of the comprehensive cult of Love and Romanticism which manifested itself at the same time in the promulgation of the worship of Viṣṇu, Kṛiṣṇa, Shiva, etc. And the same religious emotionalism was being exploited by sculptors to enrich their Buddhist or Shaiva arts.

"This common origin it is which makes it often so

difficult to distinguish between the images of the gods and goddesses belonging to the Buddhistic and non-Buddhistic pantheon of Hinduism. This is why Chinese, Korean and Japanese forms of Buddhism look so similar to the many varieties of present-day Indian religion in spite of modifications under the trans-Himālayan soil and race-characteristics. This is why, in spite of the disappearance of Buddha as a god from Indian consciousness, Buddhism may be said to live in and through the other cults of modern Hinduism, e.g. Vaiṣṇavism, Śhaivaism, Jainism, etc."

It has also been pointed out in that work that each of these mediæval and modern *isms* of India, China and Japan are the joint products of the following three factors :

"1. The Cult of World-Forces common to the Vedists (*Ritāist*), pre-Confucian Chinese (*Tāoist*) and the worshippers of *Kāmi* (*Shintoist*).

"2. The Religion of Love and Romanticism which grew out of the first. This was born almost simultaneously in India and China as the worship of saints, *avatāras*, heroes, Nature-Powers, etc., with the help of images ; and transferred to the Land of the *Kāmi* in the very first stage of its history, where it found a most congenial soil, and where the race-consciousness might have developed it independently.

"3. The Religion of the Folk which was the parent of the first two has ever been active in creating, adapting and re-interpreting local and racial myths of the three countries down to present day."

B. K. S.

NORTH CHINA,
March 9, 1916.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE	vii
-------------------	-----

CHAPTER I.

A FESTIVAL OF THE PEOPLE.

Section I. Theory of the institution	3
" II. Geography of the institution	5
" III. History of the institution	7
(a) In the <i>Mahābhārata</i>	8
(b) In the <i>Vedas</i>	10
(c) As described by Hiuen Tsiang	12
" IV. The institution as an instrument of national culture	14
(a) Influence on Bengali literature	14
(b) The Gambhīrā and the folk-arts	17
(c) The institution as a school of moral training	19
(d) The institution as a school of public life	20

CHAPTER II.

THE BENGALI FOLK-POESY OF SHAIVAISM.

Section I. Importance of vernaculars	23
" II. Salutation-Songs in Bengali MSS.	26
" III. Specimen I	27
" IV. " 2	31
" V. " 3	39
" VI. " 4	44

CHAPTER III.

THE GAMBHĪRĀ: A POPULAR FORM OF SHAIVA CULT IN EASTERN INDIA.

Section I. The several parts of Gambhīrā festivities	51
" II. Centres for Gambhīrā festivities	61
" III. Popular decorations	62
" IV. The system of administration	66
" V. The name of the institution	68

CONTENTS

CHAPTER IV.

	PAGE
THE GĀJAN: A POPULAR FORM OF SHAIYA CULT IN EASTERN INDIA	73

CHAPTER V.

FOLK-FESTIVITIES IN NORTH BENGAL AND ORISSA.

Section I. Gambhīrā	88
" II. Sāhiyātrā	91

CHAPTER VI.

POPULAR BUDDHISM IN HINDU BENGAL	39
--	----

CHAPTER VII.

PHYSICAL AUSTERITIES PRACTISED BY THE PEOPLE.

Section I. The Vāṇafodā	103
" II. History of the practice of Vāṇafodā	106

CHAPTER VIII.

FOLK-DANCES IN RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS.

Section I. The mask	109
" II. The dance	111

CHAPTER IX.

SOCIALIZATION AND SECULARIZATION OF HINDU LIFE.

Section I. Processions	115
" II. Music and dance	121
" III. Social gatherings	129

CHAPTER X.

BUDDHIST AND JAINA ELEMENTS IN MODERN HINDUISM.

Section I. Hīnayāna School of Buddhism	135
" II. Jaina festivities	136
" III. Mahāyāna School of Buddhism	141

CONTENTS

xix

CHAPTER XI.

NATIONAL FESTIVALS OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

PAGE

Section I.	The age of religious eclecticism	149
" II.	Two festivities witnessed by Hiuen Tsiang	153
	(a) The Special Buddhist Festival at Kanauj	154
	(b) The Quinquennial Gift-Festival at Allahabad	156

CHAPTER XII.

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE PEOPLE OF BENGAL UNDER THE PĀLAS.

Section I.	The Pāla-Chola period of Hindu Imperialism (ninth to thirteenth century A.D.)	160
" II.	Submergence of Buddhism	163
" III.	Establishment of Shaivism	170

CHAPTER XIII.

THE TANTRIC LORE OF MEDIÆVAL BUDDHISM.

Section I.	Mahāyānic mythology	175
" II.	The common factor in neo-Hinduism and neo-Buddhism:	
	(a) Bodhisattvas	177
	(b) Tārā	182
" III.	Drama and Tantrism (c. A.D. 600-800)	186

CHAPTER XIV.

RĀMĀI PANDIT, A FOLK-MINSTREL OF DECADENT BUDDHISM.

Section I.	Tantrism of Atisha, the Bengalee Buddhist missionary in Tibet (eleventh century)	189
" II.	Hindu Elements in Rāmāi's Buddhism	192
" III.	The work of Rāmāi as preacher (twelfth century)	195
" IV.	The Creation-story in <i>Shunya Purāṇa</i>	197
" V.	Final Hinduizing of Mediæval Buddhism	200

CHAPTER XV.

PEOPLE'S LIFE IN BENGAL ON THE EVE OF MOSLEM INVASIONS.

Section I.	Brāhmanism established (eleventh century)	202
" II.	Folk-tradition about castes and creeds	204
" III.	Halāyudha the Sociologist and other men of letters (twelfth century)	208
" IV.	<i>Shekh Shubhodayā</i> —a picture of moral degeneration	212
" V.	Beginning of Moslem rule (c. A.D. 1200)	213

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XVI.

ISLAM IN POPULAR HINDUISM.

PAGE

Section	I. Formative forces in Indian culture history	215
"	II. Aggressive Islam in Eastern India	218
"	III. Hindu deities in Mohammedan Bengal	221
"	IV. Mohammedan elements in mediæval Buddhism	225
"	V. Triumph of Shiva	229
"	VI. Propagation of Shaiva-cum-Shāktaism	232

CHAPTER XVII.

SANSKRIT TEXTS OF SHAIYA FOLK-LORE.

Section	I. <i>Śhiva Purāṇa</i>	234
	(a) The Linga, or Phallus	234
	(b) Festivities	238
	(c) Conventional ceremonies	240
	(d) Sanction for the months of worship	242
"	II. <i>Harivaṃśa</i> on Vāṇafodā (physical austerities)	244
	(a) Discomfiture of Vāṇa the Shivaite	244
	(b) Shiva's boons to Vāṇa	246
	(c) Faith of modern Shaivas in Vāṇa-legend	247
"	III. <i>Dharma Saṃhitā</i> : References to masks	247
	(a) Disguises of Shiva's attendants	248
	(b) The "comedy of errors"	250
	(c) Masks and "comedy of errors" in modern Shaiva lore	251

CHAPTER XVIII.

INVENTION OF GODS AND GODDESSES BY THE PEOPLE. 253

INDEX—

I. Subjects	263
II. Proper names and Literary references	299

CHAPTER I.

A FESTIVAL OF THE PEOPLE.

IT has been well said that a new country is a *problem*, but that an old country is a *study*. Of no old region is this more true than of India. The complex web of Indian life and culture with its historic background of hoary past presents rites, ceremonies, customs, and institutions which well-nigh defy the attempts of the anthropologist, sociologist, or the philosophical historian at anything like a systematic and satisfactory account of their sources and careers. Each institution bears presumably the influence of a diverse character, e.g. that left by the evolutionary or historic progress of the past, that due to the impact of the surrounding social and physical forces, as well as the special mark impressed upon it through the peculiar genius of the race among which it flourishes or the particular character of its habitat. For a proper interpretation of the institutions and practices obtaining in India at the present day the scientist has thus to lay under contribution the data of archæology, ecology, as well as ethnology.

But the study of Indian social facts and phenomena is yet in its nonage. We are yet in the stage of collecting materials about the manifold aspects of our socio-economic, socio-religious, and socio-political usages and theories. The science of Indian sociology is only in the making. At this stage of our social inquiry, therefore, it would be quite unscientific to pass serious judg-

2 THE FOLK-ELEMENT IN HINDU CULTURE

ments, or, at any rate, anything but tentative and provisional or hypothetical remarks, on any of the institutions that have obtained currency in the past or are influencing life and thought in the present. The same tentative, provisional or hypothetical character should also really pertain to the conclusions of what in Europe and America have been passing for the science of sociology. It bespeaks an unscientific or prepossessed turn of mind to speak of a certain people as the chosen race of God or to assert that certain manly virtues are the monopoly of a certain coloured people on the strength of social studies confined within certain boundaries of the Western world. The interests of humanity and comparative literature, philosophy, art and sociology require the inhibition of preconceived notions about colour, race or climate.

A study of the data of Indian sociology would supply a parallax to correct the one-sided or biased ideas about the truths of the human world. The materials thus furnished would not only place Indian social life in its proper perspective, but also prepare the way for the universal sociology of man according to the principles of the inductive-historical method.

It is the object of this chapter to place some of the past and present facts and theories in connexion with the worship of Shiva. The development of the Shaiva-cum-Shākta cult has had a varied course in Indian history, having its special features imprinted on it according as it has prevailed among the Andhras, Cholas, Marathas, Rajputs, Punjabis, Kashmiris and Bengalees. It is with the Bengalee phase of this all-India institution that we are concerned here. The Bengalee socio-religious festival of modern times (called Gambhīrā in certain districts of North Bengal, or Gājan in Rādhā or Western Bengal, or Nīla in East Bengal) that attends the worship

of the gods of Shaiva pantheon, is being treated under the following heads: (1) Theory or philosophy of the socio-religious institution; (2) Geography or ethnography of the institution; (3) History of the institution; and (4) The institution as an instrument of national culture.

SECTION I.—THEORY OF THE INSTITUTION.

All the affairs of the Hindu are directly or indirectly connected with religion. He feels no interest and cannot induce himself to join in any work that does not seem to him to possess any religious merit. It is generally seen, however, that people are not disposed to undertake any religious work purely for the sake of the work itself without any reference to personal gain or loss. Very rare is the case where a person will be found to practise religious observances disinterestedly, and equally rare is the case where the pursuit of religion will be found to have a place among the inviolable duties of man. With man, self-interest is the mainspring of action, and no work which will not appear to serve it will be able to kindle his interest or earnestness. It is for this that although the Gambhīrā is a religious institution its organizers are found to pay great attention to their secular interests.

The devotion to Shiva and his worship is broad-based upon the hearts of the people. Somehow or other it has come to be generally believed that of all gods Shiva is the most easily propitiated and pleased to grant the desires of his devotees. This will be clearly borne out by a study of the popular story concerning Shiva and how he is pleased that is recited and listened to with rapt attention in the night (called Shivarātri) of the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month of Phālgoon.¹

¹ February-March.

4 THE FOLK-ELEMENT IN HINDU CULTURE

The Shivarâtâ (now made in honour of Shiva, as narrated in the legend concerning Vâṇa) is a bright record of the blessings that one will obtain for his devotion to Shiva, and it has vouchsafed to his devotees happiness in this world and salvation in the next. These are found to be the chief incentives for the worship of this god.

The Gambhîrâ is thus included in the worship that is offered with a view to the realization of certain objects or the attainment of particular blessings, i.e. it is what is called *sakâma* (as opposed to *nişkâma* that is practised for its own sake). It is believed that as a result of observing the ceremonies making up the Gambhîrâ worship as *Bhakta* or *Sannyâsin*, the observer is rewarded with a sound and healthy body through the grace of Shiva. Hence it is that the *Bhaktas* are found to put on many different masks and thus play various parts in the Gambhîrâ with the object and hope of securing thereby the pleasure and grace of the god. Those who join the Gambhîrâ festivities, after having themselves mentally vowed to them, hope thereby for the realization of some particular object but do not in the least look forward to *mokṣa* (i.e. final emancipation). Little boys and girls are made to dance before the image of Shiva in the Gambhîrâ temple. Their parents allow this in the happy belief that they will thereby secure the grace of the god in the shape of health and longevity of life. There is another class of *Bhaktas* or *Sannyâsis* who dance and sing in the Gambhîrâ not from any religious motive but simply for the sake of the æsthetic or vulgar pleasure. These belong to the class of *Tâmasika* (ignorant or following the gross principle) worshippers.

Shiva enjoys the Gambhîrâ festivities with his wife and the other members of his family. Other gods also grace the Gambhîrâ on this occasion with their

presence, and on the eve of their departure from there, confer their blessings on the Bhaktas. On all the days of these festivities, especially on the last day when the Āhārā worship takes place, and, as is popularly believed, when all the gods numbering thirty-three crores¹ come there to attend the farewell dinner, it is strictly forbidden to cross the Gambhîrā courtyard with one's shoes on or with one's umbrella spread over one's head.

SECTION II.—GEOGRAPHY OF THE INSTITUTION.

Festivals like these, in which dance, music and songs, as well as feasts, processions and social gatherings play a prominent part, are held in almost every district of Bengal.

The name, however, is not the same in all the centres. The Gambhîrā of Malda is found to have been transformed into the Gājan of Râdha or West Bengal. Again the Gājan is found to have been split in two—Dharma's Gājan and Shiva's Gājan. Even in the Râdha country, and not very long ago, the name Gambhîrā connoted all the festivities that the Gājan now does. Even now in one of the Gājan songs we have "Bholā Maheshwara is in the gambhîrā".

The Gājan festivities are still held in Malda, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Pabna, Faridpur, Moorshidabad, Bankura, Birbhum, Burdwan, Hughli, Nadia, the 24 Parganas and in many other districts.

The Chaitra² festivities of Orissa under the name Sâhiyâtrâ are but another edition of the Gambhîrâ festivities. These festivities are also held in the Midnapore district.

It is clear that the Gambhîrâ is not restricted to any

¹ Ten millions = 1 crore.

² March-April.

6 THE FOLK-ELEMENT IN HINDU CULTURE

particular district, but belongs to the whole of Bengal and Orissa.

Nay, we may go farther and say that it extends even to Assam and Burma, the modern Buddhist festivities of these regions bearing a close resemblance to those of the Gambhîrâ.

In Bhutan also festivities like those of the Gambhîrâ are observed after expiry of the summer season. Here for one full fortnight music and dance are performed, temples lighted, and feasts given on the occasion.

Also, when the followers of the Lâma of Tibet perform dance, song and music, putting on masks of animals, one is naturally led to think that the Gambhîrâ at one time extended its sway in all directions, north and south, east and west.

This will be further borne out by the fact that a time was when festivities similar to those of the Gambhîrâ were extensively held far beyond the limits of India—in the islands of the Indian Ocean. Even so far back as the time of the *Shunya Purâna* we find Râmâi Pandit to have sung "Lord Dharma was highly revered in Ceylon". The Vana Pâtha and the Paritta festivities of this island seem to be closely allied to the Gambhîrâ. So also if we carefully study the similar festivities of far-off countries we are reasonably led to infer that analogues and duplicates of the Gambhîrâ crossed the limits of Asia and became established in Europe and Africa.

Thus, great festivities were held in old Greece in honour of the God Bacchus.¹ The votaries of these

¹ Reference is made to this in Milton's *Comus* :—

"Meanwhile welcome joy and feast,
Midnight shout and revelry,
Tipsy dance and jollity".

Although the poet has found in this an index of the degenerated

A FESTIVAL OF THE PEOPLE

festivities besmeared their bodies with ink and putting on lambskin danced fantastically to suitable songs and music. Similar festivities were also held in honour of the Son of Bacchus. On these occasions emblematical images were stationed along the roads. These festivities were closely similar to those of the Gambhirā. In Babylon also they were observed with great pomp and grandeur.

God Osiris of Egypt resembles our Shiva in nature and likes and dislikes, although in form he is like the image of Mahākāla. His wife seems to be no other than our Shakti. They ride Apis as our Shiva rides the bull. Osiris is also decorated with snakes and clad in skin. In that country also festivities were held in his honour and these have been described in Mohammedan books as similar to the Id festivities. Similar ceremonies were also observed in honour of many other greater and lesser gods.

SECTION III.—HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION.

It would be interesting to note some of the precursors of the present-day socio-religious festival in Bengal. We give here three pictures of this institution or its analogue in three different ages.

mind, yet such dances and songs were very popular in those days of the distant past, and putting on masks people appeared on the stage to perform these. Their wild and "fantastic" dance of midnight became a very serious affair. The nature of this dance is well expressed in the following lines:—

"Come, knit hands, and beat the ground
In a light fantastic round"

This knitting of hands, this beating the ground, this light fantastic round remind one clearly of some of the wild dances of the Gambhirā.

The underlying religious idea is found in the following couplet:—

"Come, let us our rites begin;
'Tis only daylight that makes sin".—*Comus*.

(a) The Institution in the Mahābhārata.

In the *Mahābhārata* we find very realistic scenes about the family of the god Shiva, and we recognize him as the same jolly lover of feasts and festivities.

Shiva has been painted there absorbed in worldly affairs. We find him, in the time of Yudhisthira (the eldest of the five Pāndavas, of whose exploits we read so much in the *Mahābhārata*), a man of the family and attended by a host of ghosts and goblins. In his efforts to obtain the Pāshupata (lit. belonging to Pashupati, i.e. Shiva) weapon, Arjuna (the third Pāndava) had to fight with Shiva disguised as a mountaineer. Shiva was no longer a simple Fire-god that he had been in the *Vedas*, but here we find him as a man. In the Himālayas was his home; Pārvati was his wife, and he was the head of a family consisting of his wife, sons and daughters.

In ancient Vedic rites Shiva and his energy had places assigned to them on the sacrificial ground. It is in the epics, however, that form was attributed to him. In the *Rāmāyana* Shiva is found to have served as porter at the gate of the palace of Rāvana; and in the course of the Kurukṣetra war also we find him engaged in guarding the entrance to some tents. These facts lead us to suppose that it was about this time that his image first began to be constructed; and it was probably at the next age, if not at this, that sacrifices were first performed with the image of Shiva.

The character of sacrifices was gradually becoming more and more complex. It was out of the question for Yudhisthira to think of performing his Ashwamedha (i.e. in which is offered the flesh of the horse) sacrifice with soma-rasa¹ (juice of the soma plant) only or with the lives of two or three beasts. His sacrificial ground

¹ Soma; a celebrated Vedic plant not yet identified.

rang with the sounds of small drums called mridangas and conchshells, looked brisk and alive with young ladies, and presented a scene of revelry. King Yudhis-thira feasted millions of Brāhmaṇas with pork, venison and various other kinds of food according to their tastes. The guests of both the sexes were regaled with wine, meat and various other kinds of food; a vast crowd attended the place of sacrifice; and from there floated up rich strains of melodious song and music.

The Shiva of these times is not the Shivāgni of the Vedic age. He is the object of worship of a particular religious sect. He is the presiding god of the heaven named Shivaloka (i.e. region of Shiva) after him. The Shaīva sect (also named after him) follows the line of worship that was laid down by him.

Like other gods he has not to be propitiated through the observance of severe austerities. He is, as his name Āshutoṣa implies, easily propitiated, and his patronage is easily secured.

The author of the *Bhāgavata*, through the lips of Dakṣa, has described the votaries of Shiva thus:—

“Let those the purity of whose lives is lost and whose reasoning is clouded, embrace the Shaīva cult and keep on matted hair, besmear their bodies with ashes and put on garlands of bones. To those who are thus initiated the four kinds of wine, viz. Gaudī, Paustī, Mādhvī as well as Āsava (i.e. made of the juice of the palm-tree), are as welcome as the gods themselves.”

The sannyāsis, who on their initiation into the Shaīva cult regaled themselves with wine and kept matted hair on their heads and daubed their bodies with ashes, were always in a state of drunkenness and thus worshipped Shiva. The pramathas (attendants on Shiva) were supposed to dance to the music struck up by small drums called damaru and other

instruments. All the people worshipped, and held festivities in honour of, this great god with dance, song and music, etc.

(b) *The Institution in the Vedas.*

The pre-eminently modern character of Shaiva-cum-Shākta cult that we find in the Epics has, however, been the growth of ages. The preceding Vedic literature furnishes important stages in the evolution of Shaivism. We can vividly realize the processes by which the complex institution of the present day with its paraphernalia of image, temples, votaries, tortures, songs, revelries, etc., seems to have evolved out of the simple primitive sacrificial festive rites.

From time immemorial people are found to have gathered to offer up prayers to gods and to hold religious festivities with music, song and dance. We get sufficient glimpses into those festivities, and the ancient literature bears a clear testimony to the fact that festivities like the Gājan are not altogether new.

At harvest time festivities were held in honour of the gods with feasts, dance and music. People worshipped the Sun-god and the Fire-god, and offered to them the produce of their fields, a thrilling draught of the juice of the soma plant known as soma-rasa and the flesh of beasts. At the conclusion of these sacrifices, the villagers assembled and partook of the offerings.

People of the Vedic age offered worship and hymns to Varuṇa, Indra, Mitra (the Sun-god), the twin sons of Suryya (who were physicians to the gods) and the Ribhus (a host of spirits raised by Bhrigu from the fire kindled at the sacrifice of Dakṣa). They offered to these deities the delicious beverage known as soma-

rasa, and then they regaled themselves with this offered drink ; men and women joined together in dancing and singing songs selected from the *Sâma veda*, etc., in honour of these gods and thus passed the day in great merriment.

Then as the society became more advanced in culture and grew more populous, these Vedic festivities also came to acquire greater pomp and grandeur. Each festivity was attended by a much larger concourse of people, and dance, song, music and other amusements were provided on a larger scale and the soma-rasa was consumed in a much larger quantity.

The old festivities became more and more complex, and the insatiable imagination went on inventing newer ones to keep up the craze for amusements.

The God of Fire came to be imagined in many different forms, and complex sacrificial festivities were instituted on large scales. In these, however, Agni (the Fire-god) was not the only recipient of worship ; Angirâ and Sutrâtmâ as Virâta (one of the first offsprings of Brahmâ) also came in for their shares. Their sons also, as descendants of Agni, were allowed a share in the sacrificial offerings besides having altars set apart for their seats. Thus with his sons, daughters and their progeny, the line of Agni became a very long one, and Achismati, Havismati and Mahâmati received worship as different forms of Agni.

Nay, human imagination went a step farther and created wives for the Fire-gods. With them on their left sides they sat to receive worship. With Târâ, wife of the Fire-god named Vrihaspati, the great sacrifices of Darsha and Paurṇamâsa began to be celebrated with great pomp.

With the feeling of necessity for meat was introduced the horse-sacrifice. We come across the Shanyu

Agni first in connexion with the Châturmâsya (extending over four months) horse sacrifice. His second son Bharatâgni was offered pitcherfuls of clarified butter; and one of his descendants, viz. Siddhi-Agni, came to be the presiding deity of the Agni-daivata sacrifice.

Viṣṇu, Pâñchajanya and Agni were worshipped in the Darsha (the new moon) and Purnamâsa (the full moon) sacrifices. Shivâgni who was devoted to the worship of Shakti (divine energy personified), was also worshipped at these sacrifices and before him beasts were sacrificed. Hence this fire came to be regarded as a form of the destructive energy.

The first followers of the Vedas, thinking the setting sun to be tired, offered worship to him under the name of Prashântâgni (i.e. Pacified Fire). Kratu (Sacrifice Personified) received worship as Niyatâgni (i.e. Permanent Fire). Fires named Shiva, Viṣṇu, Kratu, etc., and Agni (Fire-god) himself were regarded as luminous fires. Sacrifices were performed with wine, meat and other articles of food and drink and also with music, song and dance.

It may be safely inferred that although in those days image-worship was not probably in vogue, yet it was the idea of these various Fire-gods with their wives, as imagined for sacrificial purposes, that was the real origin of the image-worship introduced at a later age. The germ of image-worship lay hidden in the imagination which influenced human nature to think of the necessity of a wife for the Fire-god.

(c) *The Institution as Described by Hiuen Tshang.*

From what may be called the formative stages of the institution we come to the broad daylight of history. And we find that in the days of Harṣavardhana, in the seventh century of the Christian era, which enjoyed as

a heritage the rich bequest of Vikramādityan culture, something like the present-day processions, street-songs, and social gatherings were religiously attended by both the Emperor and the dependent Princes themselves, to the entire satisfaction of the Hindu and Buddhist subjects. In the Imperial socio-religious ceremony that was witnessed by Hiuen Tshang, the Chinese Master of Law, we can see the counterpart of the existing institution of the people with the modifications due to that epoch of toleration and religious *rapprochement*.

Bright traces of the festivities that were noticed by the Chinese travellers, Fa Hien and Hiuen Tshang, have been left in their literature. The Chariot festivities held in honour of Buddha, the installation of the Buddhist Trinity in the temple, the dance, song and music that attended all these festivities, the flocking of the country-folk from far and near to towns on these occasions and their passing sleepless nights in revelries—all these seem to be but an outcome of the Vedic and Epic festivities or rather a repetition of them in newer forms.

From the report of Hiuen Tshang it is evident that during his stay in this country the Emperor of Northern India celebrated a great Buddhist festival at his capital Kanauj, in connexion with which wonderful festivities were held and grand entertainments provided. Emperor Harṣa himself played the part of Indra, and his friend, Bhāskara Varṇā (Kumāradeva), lord of Assam, appeared disguised as Brahmā. This taking part in the Buddhist festivities by Kings in the guise of non-Buddhist gods seems to indicate that old Buddhism had been losing its hold and was becoming identified with neo-Hinduism.

Another festival was held at Allahabad. Worship

was offered on the first day of these festivities to the image of Buddha, on the second day to that of the Sun-god, and on the third to that of Shiva; and in connexion with these the above ceremonies were observed and entertainments given. It is not unlikely that in the neighbouring territories also similar festivities were held.

In course of time these festivities became prevalent throughout the country and it became a custom to entertain the images of Buddha, the Sun-god and Shiva by putting on the guises of Hindu gods and goddesses.

And eventually the Buddhists replaced the Hindu Shiva and Pârvatî by Bodhisattva Manjushri and his personified energy or wife Ārya Tārâ respectively. There is good reason to suppose that the Buddhists resorted to this method of modifying their religion to suit the tastes of the people, only with a view to replacing Hinduism altogether. In many places stone images of their Bodhisattva were constructed and installed.

SECTION IV.—THE INSTITUTION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL CULTURE

The Gambhirâ institution is a potent factor of mass-education. The educative influence of such agencies as popular festivals is very well illustrated by their effects upon the literature, arts, industries, morals and public spirit of the people who take part in this socio-religious ceremony in connexion with the worship of Shiva.

(a) *Influence on Bengali Literature.*

Improved tone and healthy development always come to a language through the channel of religion. Literature has largely flourished and gained in strength, beauty and sweetness as the handmaid of religion in our

country as elsewhere. The literature of India reached a high development under the influence of Buddhism in the land. The Purāṇas and the literary works based on them owed their tone and style to religious culture. The growth and expansion of Bengali literature went hand in hand with the propagation of the Vaiṣṇava faith by Chaitanya. The musical powers of the country-poets have also displayed themselves through the Shaiva cult as fostered by the Gambhīrā festivities. The songs of the Gambhīrā have flowed from the hearts of the village poets and have carried currents of devotion, love and poetry to the hearts of the mass. And as results of this there have been a continuous stream of national poetry and births of *minnesingers*, *volksdichters* and *littérateurs*. Many Rāmaprasādas and many Chandidāsas (the former was a saintly poet of the eighteenth century and the latter a poet of considerable parts in the fourteenth) have thus owed their origin to the Gambhīrā. The sweet and melodious poems of these born poets have diffused, far and wide, like sweet flowers, the rich fragrance of their music. The growth and development of rural literature and folk-poetry in Bengal are solely due to the energy that institutions like the Gambhīrā have ever called into existence.

The artful diction, the rich style and the high sentiments of Bhāratachandra, Chandidāsa and Jayadeva are even now met with in the songs composed for the Gambhīrā. Even in the *Lays of Viṣahari* (songs relating to the Goddess of Snakes) there are many proofs of the authors' thoughtfulness and deep religious fervour. In his song beginning with "Thou knowest quite well the art of weaving, O Lord!" poet Harimohana of Sāhāpur (village in Malda) has displayed the same lofty character of a Sādhaka, the same spirit of devotion and the same thoughtfulness as the renowned Rāmaprasāda.

The Gambhīrā festivities thus do not only provide three days' amusements for the people of a few villages of a certain district of Bengal, but have a far-reaching consequence. They promote largely the national spirit of the Bengalee people. To enrich the Bengali language and literature, to improve the tone of thought of the Bengalees, to raise higher their standard of culture, to create a lofty national ideal for them—we have the Gambhīrā of Malda as an effective means.

The distinguished poet Baradācharāṇa Mitra was present at the sitting of the North Bengal Literary Conference at Malda. The following are his remarks about the songs of the Gambhīrā held on the occasion :—

"From the representation of to-day I have come to learn that herein lie hidden the germs of progress for the drama of educated Bengal. It is beautiful in all its parts and we have much to know and learn from it. In the Gambhīrā representation we have nothing of the artificialities of the yātrā or the theatre, here we have sincere and natural outbursts of the unsophisticated life of the villager. I have heard these songs to-day with an inexpressible pleasure. In these natural words of the heart, denuded of all linguistic flourish, is to be found a perennial source of deep happiness.

"Many of our prominent poets and authors are present here to-day and have themselves experienced the effect of naturalness in literature. I believe that if they will hereafter strive to introduce in their works this element of artless sincerity, their productions will acquire a real force in our life.

"We should, all of us, do our best to see that ancient festivities of Bengal like those of the Gambhīrā do not die out."

The following remarks about Gambhīrā literature

are reproduced from *The Collegian* of Calcutta (No. 1, September, 1913):—

"A very interesting paper was read by Kumud nāth Lāhiri at the last North Bengal Literary Conference held at Dinajpur and has been published in two issues of the *Grihastha*, a Bengali monthly of the first rank. The writer has introduced to the literary public several men of letters, poets, musicians, dancers, etc., whose performances give delight to thousands of inhabitants of the district of Malda. Their number is legion, and some of them display exceptionally high powers of versification and imagination. Most of them half-educated and unlettered, their productions are the spontaneous outcome of unsophisticated souls rich in sentiment and culture. The *Grihastha* doubts very much if among the so-called educated classes there are men so really influential and 'immortal' as these who may be compared to the bards, minstrels and chāranas of mediæval India. Their songs cover almost every department of human thought and activity, love, domestic morality, social satire, economic reforms, religion, etc., and live from mouth to mouth for generations. . . . They are the poets of the poor and the lowly, and have a position in our society something like that of Langland, Gray, Collins and Burns among English-speaking people. Many are the institutions in Bengal which diversify the people's life in this way; and men of letters like these who grow up in their connexion are the real mass-educators and social reformers of the country."

(b) *The Gambhīrā and the Folk-Arts.*

The Gambhīrā is not an institution simply for providing two or three days' amusement. With the cultivation of literature, it also kindles the love of the fine arts. A

spirit of excelling in decoration naturally takes possession of the hearts of the leaders of the several Gambhîrâ parties ; and as a result of this there springs up a keen competition, and no pains are spared to make the decoration of each pandal as nice as possible.

The spirit of competition expresses itself in two ways. First, with reference to the construction of the images of gods and goddesses. These have to be made in accordance with the descriptions found in legends or in *Shilpa Shâstras* (treatises on arts and crafts), but at the same time there have to be introduced the elements of novelty and diversity. The image of Shiva is made in accordance with Purânic descriptions, but the painters draw on their canvases various artful pictures and these are used to add to the decoration of the Gambhîrâ house. As there is scope for novelty and variety, the painters are actuated by a feeling of emulation and strive to make these pictures as exquisite as they can. Owing to the spirit of competition growing keener and keener, the pictures of recent times have shown much improvement upon their predecessors, and the painters have learnt to produce from imagination more and more beautiful pieces.

Secondly, with reference to the various items of decoration. Imitation fruits and flowers made of clay, Indian cork and wax have been largely used in the decoration of the Gambhîrâ pandals, and thus have helped to create a taste for improved fine arts. In mediæval times Malda was specially noted for such works of art.

The cornices, etc., of the Gambhîrâ pandal are nicely made with paper. Beautiful fringes are made also with the same material, variously perforated with small files. These are very pretty to look at. There are many people who can make really exquisite things out of

paper. This is an old art. The artists exhibited their skill by making flags and banners, lotuses and other flowers with paper, and the competition that was called into existence in this field helped not a little in making the art attain a gradually higher standard.

The ālipana is a characteristic product of the Indian art of painting. It consists in variously painting the floors and walls of a house or its courtyard with the paste of rice-powder on festive occasions. It was probably first invented by the fair sex. This has also been an item in the decoration of Gambhîrâ temples. Even here competition was rife, and the female painters of the several Gambhîrâ parties tried to show their utmost skill. In this way even such a thing as the simple ālipana has considerably improved.

The Gambhîrâ has supplied a stimulus also to the art of weaving. On such festive occasions various kinds of fine cloth have been largely in demand, and the local weavers competed with one another not only in supplying them but also in improving the art.

Hence it will be seen that the Gambhîrâ does not merely provide amusement for the people with dance, song and music, but it largely helps in awakening in the minds of men those springs of action that are the main causes of the improvement of literature and the fine arts.

(c) *The Institution as a School of Moral Training.*

While, on the one hand, the Gambhîrâ festival educates the tastes and artistic sense of the people by influencing the folk-poesy and handicrafts, it is, on the other, a powerful school of moral education and political training.

The Gambhîrâ has been a reformer of social defects and evils. People learn from it an earnestness and a

capacity to work in a body for their common good. The truth that although independent in their individual affairs, the members of a society are but parts of the same unit, is well taught through their joint work for the Gambhîrâ.

Besides, the singers of the Gambhîrâ publish, as it were, in and through their songs, an annual report of the social life, and thus largely help in improving its tone. The hidden offences and secret vices of individuals are exposed by them, and thus very valuable services are rendered to morals.

There is a tradition with the Gambhîrâ *minnesingers* that sinners should confess¹ their own sins to be absolved from them. Very few persons are, however, found now-a-days to conform to this rule. But the Gambhîrâ is not prepared to let them off so easily. When one person commits an offence and tries to conceal it some other person makes a dramatic representation of the whole case in the Gambhîrâ before a large audience. This serves as a double-barrelled gun. It makes not only the offender ashamed of himself but has a deterrent effect also upon the audience. They dare not repeat it overtly or covertly for fear of this terrible exposure. Judged from the social standpoint, the Gambhîrâ will thus appear to be at once the guide, protector and reformer of society.

(d) *The Institution as a School of Public Life.*

Politics also has a place in the Gambhîrâ. The principle that works here is a very simple and ancient one. The Gambhîrâ festivities equip the people with the strength of unity and create in them a sincere desire to combine in the realization of a common cause. Further, to regulate this strength and energy, heroes

¹ *Vide* pp. 135-6.

grow up from among themselves, each of whom voluntarily takes upon himself the responsibility of a department. Under each leader, again, there are several lieutenants, who avail themselves of his guidance and thus learn how to work in a methodical way. The Gambhîrâ will thus be found to be a healthy organization. And it is this which has brought into force the system of administration by the Mandala or Headman, and it may also be taken to have helped in the growth of the Panchayet system (lit. government by five, i.e. management of village affairs by a body of competent men).

The Māṇḍalika system works exactly as a political organization. When discussing a subject affecting all his people or when he sits in judgment upon social offences of small magnitude, the Mandala does not sit alone but has the "Vārika" or "Parāmāṇika" to help him as his minister. All his people are invited to attend at the time of the trial. There are special messengers for summoning the people on this occasion. All these officers are honorary public servants. This practice has been in vogue from very early times. It is with the help of the Mandala that village administration is carried on. It will thus be seen that the assembly presided over by the Mandala is really but a miniature form of the Royal Court. On entering the assembly the members have to lower their heads in honour of "the five". This "five" represents the whole body of members or rather their united strength. Then meditating on "the five Nārāyaṇas" and imagining themselves to have assembled before the energy of Nārāyaṇa (God Viṣṇu), the members commence the work of the assembly. No sympathy is seen to be felt with the offender, nor does any member venture to show, even if he feels at heart, any sympathy with him. The

punishment inflicted is of two kinds : a fine may be imposed upon the offender, or he may be ordered to proceed to holy places to expiate his offence. The fine, when realized, is deposited with the Mandala to be spent thereafter on some common good and not for the benefit of any one individual. Again, the budget of the Gambhīrā is passed and all other affairs relating to it are settled with common consent. It is evident from this that sound political principles are at work in the Gambhīrā organization. Further, it need be noted that the reverential attitude towards the Council of the Five as if it were an assembly of five gods indicates the democratic spirit as expressed in the formula, *vax populi vox dei*. Students of world's mediæval political institutions are well aware through the researches of Maine, Elphinstone, Baden-Powell and others that the Indian Village Communities¹ (the analogues of Russian *Mirs*) were indigenous republican organizations of self-government, self-legislation, and local self-taxation for local purposes.

¹ Vide Dutt's *Economic History of India*. See also the account of Chola Administration (tenth-eleventh century) in Aiyangar's *Ancient India*.

CHAPTER II.

THE BENGALI FOLK-POESY OF SHAIVAISM.

SECTION I.—IMPORTANCE OF VERNACULARS.

"WITH the analysis of the universe taught by the Sāṅkhyā and the disciplines of the Yoga," says Principal P. T. Shrinivas Iyengar in the introduction to his translation of the *Śhiva-Sūtra-Vimarsini* of Kṣemarāja in the "Indian Thought Series,"¹ "were welded in the Vaiṣṇava and Śhaiva schools, also the love of a personal God and the belief that God's grace is a necessary antecedent of individual salvation. This provision for devotion to a distinct personal God enabled these cults to oust their rivals, the Bauddha and the Jaina, and to continue to our days to be the living religions of India, in spite of the supposed superiority of the Vedānta."

The metaphysics of Śhaivism.

The above extract puts in a nutshell the whole history and philosophy of Indian Śhaiva-cum-Śhāktaism. One or other of the forms of this cult have commanded for centuries, and do still command, the devotion of thousands of men and women in all parts of India among the Kashmiris, Punjabis, Rajputs, Marathas, Southerners, Andhras and Bengalees. In spite of the rigidity and inflexibility of customs and social life brought about by codification of laws in recent times, and notwithstanding the narrow provincial spirit of the

¹ Edited by Dr. Gangānāth Jhā and Dr. Thibaut. Vide Sir Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śhaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, and also Chatterji's *Kashmir Śhaivism*.

An all-India
fact.

modern educated Indians, due to the growth of habits and sentiments in watertight administrative compartments, the soul of India is really one. It would be interesting to study how in the absence of railways and telegraphs and printing presses in ancient and mediæval times "one touch of Nature made," as it were, the whole Indian "world kin". It is at this age difficult to conceive the manifold processes of social intermixture and cultural *rapprochements* that made possible the filtration of ideas both horizontally and vertically. The kaleidoscopic political changes which shifted the vital centres of gravity from people to people, province to province, and district to district, and necessarily converted the borderlands or buffer-States of one epoch into prominent seats of political and cultural life of the next, and occasionally diverted the stream of civilization from a sometime stronghold of paramount ideas along new and untrodden channels, are hardly visible to us to-day because of the paucity of historical details bearing on them.

On the other hand, the translation of higher culture into the tongues of the people of the various parts from the common storehouse of Sanskrit, the *lingua franca* of educated India through the ages, and the necessary modifications or adaptations have imparted a local colouring and distinctive tone to the all-India Hindu traditions, sentiments and customs in the several parts of the country. Social and religious life of the people of India has thus been for ages governed not simply by the texts of the Shâstras in Sanskrit (which, by the by, also could not escape the natural adaptation to the conditions of time and place), but also really and to a powerful extent by the vast mass of vernacular literature, both secular and religious, that grew up side by side with and eventually replaced the original storehouse. Tulsidâsa, Krittivâsa and Tukârâma are a few of the numerous

provincial poets and singers who have governed the thoughts and activities of the people. In fact, the diversity that characterizes the customs and festivals, hymns and rituals of the people in different parts of India in the self-same socio-religious institution is so great to-day that it is difficult to perceive the unity underlying them. ^{its local diversities}

The present-day Shaivism or Shaiva-cum-Shaktism presents such a diversity of rites and ceremonies. In this chapter it is proposed to give an account of a modern socio-religious festival that has grown up in connexion with the worship of Shiva in certain districts of Bengal. The districts, again, present the same variety and diversity not only in name but also in the actual incidents of worship.¹

A study of the Gambhīrā festival, both in its present and past forms would reveal how Shaivism has assimilated and ultimately swallowed up both Buddhism and Jainism in Bengal. It will also bring into prominence the place that vernacular literature ought to occupy in Indian historical research as representing the processes of this conquest and defeat. To all students of comparative mythology and sociology the study of Indian vernaculars will thus be found to be a desideratum. For a proper interpretation of the forces that have contributed to the building up of Indian civiliza-

¹ A voluminous literature that directly or indirectly pertains to the subject has been collected in the form of old Bengali manuscripts through the efforts of literary associations like the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta and the numerous institutions in the districts affiliated to it, and educational institutions like the District Council of National Education, Malda, as well as the private efforts of research scholars like Mr. Nagendranāth Vasu, editor of *Vishwakosa* in Bengali, Mr. Dineschandra Sen, author of the *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, and Mr. Haridās Palit, author of *Ādya Gambhīrā*.

tion the future historian would have to depend more and more on Tamil,¹ Bengali, Marathi and Hindi.

SECTION II.—SALUTATION-SONGS IN BENGALI MANUSCRIPTS.

Before proceeding to describe the various parts of the Gambhīrā festivities we give some of the Bengali folk-hymns that are recited by the devotees before their god Shiva on the festival days. The *Vandans* or Salutation-songs are in manuscript. These are the compositions of village poets and poetasters, and give an account of the various methods adopted by the Bhaktas or votaries to purify in mind and thought both themselves as well as the temple, pandal, cottages, the four quarters, and all the paraphernalia of the festival. The cosmogony adopted in these rustic songs indicates the peculiar channel through which the popular mind has grown in these parts of Eastern India, and would be interesting to scholars who have devoted themselves to the study of Indian sociology. To a certain extent, the literature of the Gambhīrā-cycles may be aptly compared with the mysteries and miracle-plays in Old English² and the *No*-plays of Japan.

On the days of the Chhota Tāmāsā³ and the Bada Tāmāsā⁴ the Bhaktas gather together at dusk in the Gambhīrā house. The Mandala of the Gambhīrā or the chief votary stands up, cane in hand, like the village schoolmaster, and makes the other votaries stand in a row before him. Then they begin simultaneously to

¹ Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has in his scholarly historical work, *Ancient India*, demonstrated the value of Tamil in the construction of South Indian history.

² *Vide The Medieval Stage*, by Chambers.

³ Lesser festivities.

⁴ Greater festivities.

sing aloud the hymn in front of the image of Shiva, under the tutoring of the chief votary, who sings first. During the offering of the hymns till the commencement of *Arati* (the presentation of lights, the smoke of burnt incenses and of the sounding bell to a god, jointly called wave-offering), the votaries have to stand on one leg only, and with the completion of each part of several hymns they have to advance two paces on one foot only and then to return in the same way to their former places. Comparing the *Gambhīrā* hymns of different villages, one will, no doubt, find some differences among them, but the underlying idea will appear to be the same in all.

SECTION III.—SPECIMEN 1.

The first specimen of Salutation-song is given below.¹

1. Whence do you come, O Lord, and where is The invocation.
your home? (you are a mysterious being), you come every day but never (we observe with wonder) do you take any food or drink. When there is no land or water but only an immense void, you do rest on (such a volatile thing as) camphor and live upon air only.

Oh, what a God of Gods is our Shivanātha, Lord Shiva!

2. There was neither land nor water nor the region Dharma as Void. The history of the creation of the world. The tortoise as its last support.
of gods; (only) Dharma managed somehow to abide as Void. The crab was sent by him under the earth and it fetched a lump of earth as big as a dot. To this was added another, as big as a sesamum seed, and to this yet another as big as a marmelos fruit (*Vela*); and thus was the world created (and placed) on the back of the tortoise. Thus do I narrate before this assembly the history of the world's creation, as told by my Lord

¹ It is in the possession of Babu Gadādhara Dās of Dhāntālā, Malda.

11. (Make your salutation, etc.) Let us bow low at the feet of Lakṣmī who has come riding an owl.

Oh, what a, etc.

12. (Make your salutation, etc.) Let us bow low at the feet of Gaṅgā (the presiding deity of the Ganges—wife of Shiva) who has come riding a makara (a fabulous marine creature something like the seal).

Oh, what a, etc.

13. (Make your salutation, etc.) Let us bow low at the feet of Durgā (a name of Chandi, represented as having ten hands) who has come riding a lion.

Oh, what a, etc.

14. (Make your salutation, etc.) Let us bow low at the feet of Yama (Lord of Death) who has come riding a buffalo.

15. (Make your salutation, etc.) Let us bow low at the feet of Brahmā, the creator who has come riding a swan.

Oh, what a, etc.

16. (Make your salutation, etc.) Let us bow low at the feet of the thirty crores (three hundred millions) of gods who have come on the backs of gibbons.

Oh, what a, etc.

17. (Make your salutation, etc.) Let us bow low at the feet of those (gods), whose names we do not know.

Oh, what a, etc.

18. The horse is white and the pālāna (caparison) is made of the rich cloth known as net. Blessed be (the name of) Jagannātha (Lord of the Universe, also a name of the creator), the watchman (Kotāla). As ordered by him, let me out through the southern gate.

Over the southern gate presides the blessed Jagannātha. In his puri (there is here a pun. The word Puri means a town; there is also a town of this name in Orissa, where the image of Jagannātha is worshipped) people

The opening
of the gates.

The southern
gate.

purchase cooked rice for their food, and in the absence of water in the Kamandalu (a water-pot, more generally used by ascetics), they rub their (unclean) hands¹ over their heads (meaning that through the influence of the god there is observed here no caste distinction nor any differentiation between physical purity and impurity, everything being pure in the holy atmosphere of this sacred place).

Oh, what a, etc.

19. The horse is white and the caparison is made of the rich cloth known as net. Blessed be (the name of) Jagannâtha, the watchman. As ordered by him, now let me out through the western gate.

Over the western gate presides the eleventh Bhima (a name of Mahâdeva or Shiva, meaning the awful). I bow down at his feet.

Oh, what a, etc.

20. The horse is white, etc. At the northern gate keeps watch Bhânu Bhâskara Râya (meaning probably the glorious Sun-god. Bhânu and Bhâskara, both refer to the Sun. Râya means, of the royal line, honourable. Hence it may be taken to mean glorious).

Oh, what a, etc.

21. The horse is white, etc. At Kâmarupa (a town in Assam), which is the eastern gate, keeps watch, under orders of Chandî, (represented here as) the daughter of a Hândî (belonging to the lowest class of Hindus), the (goddess) Kâmâkhyâ (the same goddess in another form and under a different name). I bow low at her feet.

Oh, what a, etc.

SECTION IV.—SPECIMEN 2.

A comparatively large account is to be found in an old manuscript which is in the possession of Babu

¹ The rule generally is to wash the hands clean with water after meals.

Kisorimohan Dās of Rādhānagar in Malda. We quote the hymns below :—

Creation.

1. We are anxious to know, O Lord, how you managed to abide in the form of the Void at the time of the universal deluge.

He (the Lord) ordered the crab, of golden hue and born in the line of charioteers (Sutayoni), to fetch earth.

The crab fetched a lump of earth in the shape of an egg. (And) the egg burst into two.

(This is) how the world was created by the Lord (Bhagavān).

Oh, what a, etc.

Creation of Earth.

2. Earth, Earth, Earth.—By whom was it created? —Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheshwara, the three together produced it.

Kāla, the expert blacksmith, shaped out the bill-hook. (They) ascertaining well its (probably meaning the egg) head, middle and end, applied the bill-hook to it.

Creation of beings.

(Of the three parts thus made) Brahmā takes his seat on the head, Viṣṇu on the end, and Shiva on the middle. Let the creatures take their seats on the place where dwells the twelfth Shiva.

Oh, what a God, etc.

Earth, Earth, Earth.—By whom was it created? —Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheshwara, the three together produced it.

(Hearing this) the potter Kāla cried out: "Yes, O Gosāin (Lord), now have I remembered (all this)".

The story of the birth of Ghata and Dhuvchi.

3. This Kāla potter had one or two brothers. They prepared clay and deposited it in several places.

After the clay was prepared they put it on the wheel, and then, by two and a half turns of the wheel, they turned out the Danker pātīla (an earthen vessel with a mirror in it, placed in front of the image) and Ghata (pitcher) and Dhuvchi (vessel for burning incense in).

These were dried by the Sun-god and burnt by Brahmā (here the Fire-god), and the thirty crores of gods uttered their benedictions on them.

Thus have I told in this assembly the birth story of Ghata and Dhuvchi.

Oh, what a God, etc.

4. On a white bedstead is a white seat and on that white seat a white throne. Dharma Niranjana (lit. meaning spotless, pure, white) has seated himself on the white bedstead. Salutation to
Dhaval
(white)
Dharma
Niranjana.

The Lord is white both when he assumes a form and when he becomes formless ; and, hear me, through the grace of his white feet he has saved the world.

Oh, what a God, etc.

5. Rise, get up, O Sadāshiva (the same as Shiva), shake off your sleep ; for, behold, the devotees (followers) of Āula¹ have come here to pay their homage to you. The waking
up of Sadā-
shiva from his
sleep.

¹ On inquiry as to who these devotees of Āula were, and why they came to the Gambhīrā to tender their homage to the Gambhīrā Deity, it has been found that they formed rather a new sect following the creed of Āula Chānd. A brief account of the life and teachings of this Āula Chānd will not be deemed out of place here.

"There was in the village of Ula a certain Bārui (one who grows and sells betels) under the name of Mahādeva.

"On the first Friday of the month of Phālgoon (February-March) in 1616 A.D., he found in his betel-field an eight-year-old boy of unknown parentage. He took him home, brought him up with affection and gave him the name of Purna chandra. It was this foundling who was afterwards known as Āula Chānd. For twenty-seven long years he travelled from place to place and through the influence of his teaching succeeded in winning over Rāmasarana Pāla to his faith. He founded a new creed and had twenty-two followers, among whom Lakṣmikānta, Kṛṣṇa Dāsa and Viṣṇu Dāsa are the best known. In 1691 A.D., Āula Chānd breathed his last.

"He assumed the Koupina (a piece of cloth worn over the loins) and went out with a kānthā (rag sewed up together in the form of a thip quilt) on his person. He used to impart instruction in Bengali

Open your doors of sandal-wood so that they may give you milk and water of the Ganges (they have

and looked upon the Hindus and the Mohammedans without distinction. With him caste had no meaning. The followers of this sect look up to him as an incarnation of God. According to them Kṛiṣṇa chandra (Kṛiṣṇa of Nadia), Gaura chandra (Chaitanya of Nadia) and Āula chandra are but one and the same, being one in three and three in one. They say that it was the Mahāprabhu (Chaitanya) himself, who after his disappearance from Purusottama (Puri), reappeared in the guise of Āula Mahāprabhu (lit. the great Lord). He had many names, such as Phakir, Thākur, Sāin, Gosāin. Probably the name Āula was given him by his Mohammedan followers or admirers, from the Persian word Aulia, meaning one possessing divine powers. He is said to have performed many miracles, one among them being his crossing the Ganges with sandals on. Wise men of this sect say that their religion consists in worshipping the Maker alone, although idol-worship is also in vogue among them. The Gurus, spiritual preceptors of this sect, are styled Mahāshayas (i.e. Sires). In *Śrīra Vanānand* we have 'The seat was purified by Dharamaguru Mahāshaya (i.e. Sire Dharma),' and also the following line :—

" 'We all the people assembled in the Gambhīrā are devotees of Viṣṇu Bhāi Āula.'

" 'The Gambhīrā is purified, as we are devotees of Viṣṇu Bhāi Āula.'

The meaning of Viṣṇu Bhāi here is not at all clear. Probably it was the devotees of Āula following the lead of his disciple Viṣṇu Dāsa that thus invoked their preceptor's benediction, or the composers of the above hymn might be direct followers of Sire Viṣṇu Dāsa. The Āula sect commences revelries at the dead of night and passes the rest of it in religious emotion, expressing itself in terrific roars and grinnings. It would thus be clear why the Gambhīrā festivities should claim the attention of the devotees of Āula.

We quote below a song of this Āula sect :—

"All glory to our preceptor, to our Lord, mad after God and lost in his meditation. Oh, how charming are his virtues! we are even prepared to die rather than suffer them to be impaired in any way. His virtues have no end; owing to his deep religious fervour his body is besmeared with ashes instead of with sandal-wood paste

brought as presents). Twelve times do they bow at your feet.

Oh, what a God, etc.

6. Here have we come to see you with buoyant hearts. Be pleased, O Lord, to appear before us and to look at us with golden (i.e. gracious) eyes. Visit with Shiva.

We the followers of Aula do tender twelve bows at your feet.

Oh, what a God, etc.

7. There is Vāṇa Rāja (King Vāṇa), a devotee of Shiva, decorated with pearls and corals. The whole surface of his golden body, decorated with gold threads, shines as though it were all gold. Twelve times do we bow at his feet. Salutation to Vāṇa Rāja.

Oh, what a God, etc.

8. Mighty Hanumān (son of Pavana, the Wind-god, and that monkey-follower of Rāma, who crossed over to Ceylon and brought the news of his consort Sītā) fetched four pieces of stone Shrikānta, scraped and shaped them and poured molten glass over them. Then he covered the four roofs of Chandi-mandapa (temple) with white chāmaras (chourie, the tail of the Tibetan yak used as a fly-brush).¹ Hanumān brings stones. The building of Chandi-mandapa.

(i.e. to him perfumes and ashes have the same value). Oh, how deep in his meditation!—He is quite content with rags and torn Kānthās (thin quilts), and receives a menial and a king equally: He looks about him with restless eyes. Who knows why and who can say where he is, whither he goes and where he is not?"

Bhārata-varṣiya Upāsaka-Sampradāya. (The Religious Sects of India.) By Aksayakumar Datta.

¹ In "Dharma-sthāna," of *Shunya Purāṇa*, we have:—

"The stones were laid in four rows; and many were the beautiful beams of gold that were used. The floor was paved with gold and looked like molten glass."

In *Dharmamangala* (of Ghanarāma):—

"The four roofs were covered with chāmaras named Gangājāla

Oh, what a God, etc.

The door-keepers of Shiva. Entrance into the apartment of Shiva.

9. Holding in their hands maces, the chatpati (fluttering or flexible ends; it is an onomatopoetic word meaning that which falls chatpat, as *smack* in "smack went the whip") of which is made of copper, and the nâla (lit. stem; hence the steady part, i.e. the handle) of gold, Nandi, Bhringi and Mahākāla are mounting guard at the door of Shiva. The whole door is blocked by Bhaktas, too many to name them separately; and with sandal-wood paste and the sweet fragrance of the screw-pine-flower Nandi is quickly relieving them of their fatigue. Thus do all the bhaktas enter the room of Shiva, the Kāshishwara (Lord of Kashi, Benares). Gambhīrā is purified as we are Viṣṇu Bhāi (i.e. following the lead of Viṣṇu Dāsa) devotees of Āula.

Oh, what a God, etc.

Making of the drum-sticks for Gambhīrā.

10. The Guru tied the money that he would require to live six months at one end of the piece of cloth that he was wearing and entered the forest with a triumphant bustle. There he found a smooth and slim tree on which leaves grew from the root and which closely resembled the Karavi-tree. He cut off its top and roots and took the middle portion. Then he skinned and scraped it and made two dhāka (drum) sticks out of it. The left-hand stick is Saraswatī and the right-hand one is Urdhva (lit. high or elevated). Through the grace of Shiva-Durgā, the drum-sticks of the Gambhīrā are purified.

Oh, what a God, etc.

or purified with waters from the Ganges and were nicely decorated here and there with peacock-tails. Pennons were placed on pitchers of gold or silver and the floor was decorated with gold looking like molten glass."

Then again in *Shunya Purāṇa* :—

"The store-house was covered with peacocks (i.e. peacock-tails) and pitchers of gold adorned the floor."

11. When Hanumân went to Lamkā (Ceylon) he ate mango (*mangifera indica*) fruits, throwing their stones about, and out of these sprang up trees known as Amarāvati (lit. belonging to Paradise, mango-trees). The sprout shoots out first; then this grows into the tree. In every six months the tree grows taller by twelve cubits (6 yds.). The top and the roots (of one such tree) were cut off and the middle portion selected, scraping and skinning which a Dhāka (long drum) was made. The blacksmith shaped out an iron cauldron, and muchirāma (i.e. a skinner) stretched the skin of Kapilā cow (on the wooden frame of the drum) after heating it on the cauldron. Uttering the name of Shiva, the stick was applied to the drum and the dead leather made forty-two sounds (i.e. sounded loudly).

Shaping of the Dhāka (drum) out of Mango-wood. Stretching of the skin of Kapilā on this frame.

Oh, what a God, etc.

12. The Guru sits in a purified assembly with his neck adorned with necklace of sateswari. I am going to purify the storehouse under orders of my Guru; out of kindness he has taught me (these) words (of purification). I am purifying the four corners of the Chandi-mandapa under orders of my Guru.

The Bhāṇḍāra (store-house) and Chandi-mandapa purified.

Oh, what a God, etc.

13. Purified are my parents and purified is the vastu-mati (earth), from whom I have sprung. (Sitting on this seat) I have become as powerful as the gods (because) this seat has just been purified by sire Dharma Guru.

Purification of the seat by sire Dharma Guru.

Oh, what a God, etc.

14. Make your obeisance to land and water and also to the hut of Shiva. Bow low also to the Sun and Moon, covering eight cubits of ground (i.e. falling flat on the ground with outstretched hands).

Salutation to land and water.

I bow low at the feet of Kāusena's son, Nayanāsena

38 THE FOLK-ELEMENT IN HINDU CULTURE

Salutation to
Nayanasesna
Datta.

Datta,¹ who introduced (by bringing it down as it were from heaven) the vrata (voluntary vow attended with ceremonies and worship) that has to be observed in honour of Maheshwara (Shiva).

Oh, what a God, etc.

Lord Shiva
sowed seeds
of the cotton
plant.

15. In the month of Vaishākha (April-May) the cultivator ploughed the field and in the month of Āṣāḍha (June-July) Lord Shiva sowed the seeds of the cotton plant. After this he went to kuchni-pādā (hamlet of Koch women) in response (to a call from there) and on his return he collected the raw cotton and made it over to (his wife) Gangā.

Gangā mak-
ing yarn from
it. Shiva's
work at the
loom.

Gangā made yarns out of this cotton and with those yarns Shiva worked at the loom and brought out a piece of cloth. It was washed by laundress Nitāi in the charming waters of the ocean of milk.

Theft of
Pārijāta.

16. Jagannātha went to Paradise and stole from there Pārijāta (flower tree of Paradise produced at the churning of the ocean as described in the *Purāṇas*)—the crimson Pārijāta. The gosāin took in his hands the end of the stalk as a pleasure cane (i.e. stick). (Thus) did the cane of heaven descend, i.e., on the earth; Lakṣmī (also); out of condescension, came down there.

Oh, what a God, etc.

17. Offer your salutation to land and water and also

¹ In *Dharmamangala* we come across one Lāusena, son of Karnasena, who introduced and propagated the worship of Dharma. Probably Kausena and Karnasena refer to the same person, and Nayanasesna and Lāusena also are but different names of one and the same man. Karnasena belonged to the Bania (mercantile) caste and his wife Ranjāvati was the daughter of a Bania. Her brother Mahāmada belonged to the Datta family, the members of which alone are found to have been patrons of the Dharma cult.

to Gambhîrâ. Bow low to the Dumura¹ (slang form of Damaru, a small drum shaped like an hour-glass and a favourite musical instrument of Shiva) to the right and to Hanumân to the left. Lo! there's Bhagavatî (another name of Chandi; lit. possessed of the wealth of divine energy in all its aspects) seated on the back of a lion. Make your obeisance twelve times at her feet.

Oh, what a God, etc.

18. Offer your salutation, etc. . . . We bow low twelve times at the feet of all the Gods that are here.

Oh, what a God, etc.

19. Offer your salutation, etc.

I have (thus) sung the salutation-hymns and do (now) make twelve bows at the feet of all.

Oh, what a God, etc.

SECTION V.—SPECIMEN 3.

The late Michhuâl Dâs of the Mandala family of Kâsimpur in Malda recited the salutation-hymns in the Gambhîrâ and also played the part of Hanumân. His hymns are an exact copy of the chapter on Creation in the *Chandi* of Mânîk Datta. From this it is apparent that in olden days the story of creation by Dharma Niranjana formed a part of the Gambhîrâ festivities in Malda.

1. Lord Dharma Niranjana of white complexion and dressed in white, is sitting on a white bedstead.²

¹ In *Shunya Purâna* among the articles of Dharma's accoutrements, we have "There is the dumura (i.e. damaru) to the right and Hanumân to the left".

² We have the following lines in the hymns of Dharma in the *Dharmamangala* of Mânîk Gânguli:—

"White is the complexion, white is the dhuti (piece of cloth tied round the waist), and the whiteness of the ornaments is such as

Salutation to
the Gambhîrâ
and obeisance
to Bhagavatî.

Salutation to
all the gods.

Salutation to
Dharma
Niranjana.

Oh, what a God of Gods is our Shivanātha, the giver (of boons).

Dharma assumes body.

2. Lord Dharma himself meditated on the globe (universe), and in doing this he brought into existence the head of Dharma.

Lord Dharma himself meditated on the globe, and in doing this he created the body of Dharma.

Oh, what a God of Gods is our Dātānātha (lit. lord of the givers of boons).

3. (Thus) has been born Lord Dharma, matchless in attributes, who will create the world and establish his glory. The saliva of Dharma fell down from his mouth, and from his hands and feet did water spring up on the earth.¹

can be realized only through meditation. White is the sandal paste, white are the sandals on the feet, and the throne is also of the white complexion. The phantā (sectarian mark on the forehead) is white, the clotted hair on the head is white, and the necklace is also made of white moons. White are the canopy and bedstead and white are the standard and its staff. (Thus) the whole house is bright and glorious with (a profusion of) white colour."

¹ As to the creation of water we have in the *Shunya Purāṇa* :—

"All of a sudden did water flow from the Vimbu (Saliva ?) of the Lord".

Ādi Buddha or Dharma while floating on water, seated himself on his conveyance Ulluka (gibbon). From the *Chandī* of Mānik Datta we learn of the creation of the lotus and of Dharma's sitting thereon. The lotus has been indicated as the seat of Buddha.

According to the *Shunya Purāṇa* the world was created from the filth of the body. Thus

"Nārāyaṇa took a pinch of the filth."

"In this way the Lord produced the materials for creation."

Students of Pali *Jātaka* (Birth) stories are familiar with the legend that in one birth Buddha assumed the form of a markata (monkey) and performed the Prajñā Pāramitā.

Ulluka seems to appear occasionally in the form of Hanumān. It was from the person of Dharma that he was born. It seems, therefore, that the theories about the origin of Ulluka were based

Oh, what a God, etc.

4. Gosâin Niranjana had only water about him, he stood on it and floated about on it. Once while thus floating, he came across a resting place, but this was only after fourteen yugas or cycles (the duration of the world is divided into four periods, each of which is called a Yuga) had elapsed.

Creation of the ocean.

Oh, what a God, etc.

5. Ulluka came into being from the resting place of Dharma and stood in front with folded hands. The Lord of the Tridashas (immortals) smiled and said: "Tell me, O Ulluka, how many yugas (ages) have passed".

Birth of Dharma's conveyance Ulluka.

Oh, what a God, etc.

6. Through all the ages that were passed in the redemption of Brahmâ, I was absorbed in the meditation of mantras (incantations); and through this I obtained a good boon; (so) you may now hear from me accounts of the fourteen yugas. Listen to the accounts of the fourteen ages, O you Formless One. There is no longer any sinner in all these three worlds (heaven, earth, and the nether regions).

Oh, what a God, etc.

7. The Lord created the lotus in front of him. Then he sat on it and meditated on the first origin.¹

Creation of Dharma's seat—the lotus.

Oh, what a God, etc.

Dharma Niranjana took his seat on a lotus and then found out the means of creating the world.

on the story of Buddha's assuming in one life the form of a markata.

According to the *Shunya Purâṇa* of Râmâi Pandit,

"The Lord yawned through fourteen yugas; and from his exhalation did the bird Ullukai (Ulluka) spring into existence."

¹ The lotus is used in the worship of Dharma. Even now cases are not rare where this flower is offered in the Dharma's Gâjan of Râdha and in the Âdyâ's Gambhîrâ of Malda.

8. Borne on many a leaf (he) started on his journey for the Pātāla (the nether regions).

Oh, what a God, etc.

9. In twelve years he reached earth, took a quantity with his hands and besmeared his body with it. Then taking in his hands a quantity of earth, of the measure of a Vātula (i.e. a very small quantity), Lord Dharma floated up in the form of shunya (void).

Oh, what a God, etc.

10. Again did the Formless Lord Dharma stand on his feet (i.e. on solid ground) and reflected within himself, and determining mentally the person on whom the earth should be placed, created it.

Oh, what a God, etc.

Creation of an elephant as the conveyance of Buddha or Dharma.

11. Lord Dharma became himself attached to an elephant and placed Vasumatī (the earth) on it. The earth with her rest, the elephant, was (however) about to sink down to the nether world.

Oh, what a God, etc.

Creation of the tortoise as the conveyance of Dharma.

12. Lord Dharma himself assumed the form of a tortoise and placed the earth on this tortoise.

The tortoise could (however) ill bear the weight of the earth; and with the elephant and the tortoise, the earth was about to sink down to the nether regions.¹

¹ In the *Shunya Purāṇa*, however, we have such lines as—

"Placing his lotus-marked hand, the Lord said 'Be steady'.

"(And) it was from this lotus-marked hand that the body of the tortoise came into existence."

Ideas about the elephant are even now extant among the Buddhists. The story of su-hasti (lit. good elephant) is a proof of the Buddhist artists' fondness for the elephant. The mystery of the creation of an elephant by Dharma is laid bare before us in the salutations, etc., said to have been made by herds of elephants before Buddha. The Buddhist Tānistis (followers of the system of Tantra) are found to worship Buddha in the form of a tortoise, since the tortoise is supposed by them to have sprung from the body of

Oh, what a God, etc.

13. In this way growing wiser at every successive stage of creation, Dharma Niranjana ultimately created a serpent, and resting on him the burden of the earth found rest and peace for himself.

He (Niranjana) snapped asunder the sacred thread Creation of the Serpent. of gold about his neck and this was transformed into a hydra-headed serpent. Niranjana gave him the name of Vāsuki and bade him bear the burden of these three worlds.

Oh, what a God, etc.

Just after its birth, Vāsuki felt very hungry. And no sooner had Dharma Niranjana flung aside his earring, to satisfy the serpent's hunger, than the frog came into being, and this unfortunate creature has ever since been food for Vāsuki and his progeny. (This story has been told also in the *Chandī* of Mānik Datta.)

"Go you, Vāsuki, be you immortal. Him I give shelter whom I do create."¹

Oh, what a God, etc.

Dharma. Among the ten incarnations of the Hindus also, Kurma (tortoise), like Buddha, has been honoured with a place. In many a part of Western Bengal, Dharma is worshipped in the guise of Kurma. As, for instance, in the village of Kāleswara in Bardwan there is a tortoise-like image of Dharma.

In the MS. of an old poem, *Jagannātha Vijaya*, composed by Mukunda Bhārati, there are proofs of the tortoise being regarded as omniscient.

¹ In the *Shunya Purāṇa* also Vāsuki is reported to have been created in the same way.

"Having placed at your feet (i.e. before you for your consideration) all these arguments, I advise you to snap asunder your sacred thread of gold and to fling it into the waters.

"Having heard these words of Ulluka, Lord Niranjana instantly took off his sacred thread of gold;

"Then he snapped it asunder and cast it off into the waters; and there up sprang from it the serpent Vāsuki with a thousand hoods."

Hereafter the invocations of the other deities, nay, all the other parts of the *Vandanâ*, are found to be similar to those of the other hymns to Shiva.

At the time of *Ārati* (wave-offering) at dusk the *Bhaktas* are found to stand on one foot only as long as the hymns are recited, and all this time they repeat mentally also the name of Shiva.

"Some stand on, on one foot, and with uplifted arms and with concentrated minds glorify and repeat the name of Dharma" (*Dharma mangala*).

SECTION VI.—SPECIMEN 4.

We have obtained the following *Bhakta-vandanâ* (hymns by *Bhaktas*) from Viṣṇu Dās, the present mandala of the *Gājan* of Bābā Ishāneshwara of the village of Kudmun in Burdwan. Such Salutation-hymns are met with in many of the villages of this district. The other ceremonies of *Gājan* are almost identical in all the centres.

(a) *The Opening of Doors.*¹

Opening of
the Eastern
door.

1. "Lo and behold! there, on his bull, is Shiva, the lord of immortals, with a trident and a red stick in his hands and dressed in a tiger-skin.

"Rise, get up, my brother, the keeper of truth—lo! the Eastern gate of the Lord is opened."

In this way, five other doors—viz. Western, Southern and Northern doors and the gates of Heaven and the *Gājan*—have to be opened. The hymn has to be sung with the face turned towards the direction of the door which is to be opened, and with the opening of each door the several names of Shiva are recited, followed by a flourish of music.

¹ Similar to the "Opening of Doors" in the *Shunya Purāna*.

(b) Awaking from Sleep or Meditation.

1. "Lord, rise from thy sleep of meditation and look ^{Awaking from sleep.} upon thy merry votaries, who have surrendered themselves absolutely at thy feet (i.e. mercy)."

(Recitation of his names, with dance and a flourish of drums.)

2. "Embracing Kārtika and Gaṇeśha, thou art lying in a sleep of oblivion. How are we then to make our obeisance at thy feet?"

(Dance, etc.)

3. "Desist from sleep, O Lord of Gods, and sit in the centre of thy bedstead, with Gaurī constantly on thy left side."

(Dance, etc.)

4. "Lord, thou art Master of the Gods, and, not to speak of the lesser ones, even Hari (Viṣṇu) and Brahmā sing thy eulogy."

(Dance, etc.)

5. "Lord Tripurārī (destroyer of the demon Tripura), give up thy fondness for sleep, show mercy to thy devotees and satisfy their desires (?)."

(Dance, etc.)

6. "Take in thy hands thy shingā (horn used for blowing) and damaru (a small drum), and keep thy bull to thy left; and let the Vāsuki (king of serpents) stand on with unfolded hood. Hold on thy head the genial Gamgā (tutelary deity of the river Ganges), and let thy forehead be adorned with the moon. Inside the last let the (brilliant) round mark called phantā shine (gloriously), and let thy body be adorned with a wreath of bones and the ashes of cow-dung, and put on the armour of meditation (yoga-pātā) (?)."

(Recitation of the names with dance, etc.)

7. "O Lord with three eyes, remove our troubles and obstacles which are beyond human control. We do absolutely rely on thee, and have renounced every other prop."

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

8. "We have in the *Vedas* and the esoteric *Shāstras* that Lord Gamgādhara (lit. holder of Gamgā on the head) is the God of Gods. Be pleased, O Conqueror of Death, to forgive our faults."

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

9. "O Shiva, leave the Kailāsa mountain (the abode of Shiva) on the back of thy bull, and, O Tripurāri (destroyer of the demon Tripura), be pleased to satisfy our desires and to instal thyself in our Gambhīrā. Five times do we bow to thy feet."

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

(c) *Hymns in Honour of the (Ten) Quarters.*¹

Hymns in
honour of the
Quarters.

1. "The temple, the threshold of the door, and every other article in and about the temple are protected (by means of charms against the entrance of or molestation by wicked spirits). So also is protected the Tulasi (the holy basil, *ocimum sanctum*) of the Ādyā. We do also sing the hymn of Saraswatī. Make your obeisance to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to the right and to Sītā and the heroic Hanumān to the left.

East.

"The glorious sun is in the East, and five times we make our obeisance to him."

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

N.B.—The words from "The temple . . ." to

¹ Similar to that in vogue in the Gambhīrās of Malda. Cf. "Make your obeisance to the house, to the door and to the hut of Shiva".

" . . . the heroic Hanumān to the left " are repeated at the beginning of each hymn.

2. " . . . There is Bhīma (lit. terrific) Kedāra (a North name of Shiva) in the North, to whom we make our obeisance five times."

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

3. " . . . There is Ārura Vaidyanātha (a name of West Shiva) in the West, to whom we make our obeisance five times."

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

4. " . . . There is the glorious Jagannātha in the South. South, to whom we make our obeisance five times."

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

5. " . . . There is King Indra in the Paradise, to whom we make our obeisance five times."

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

6. " . . . There is the serpent Vāsuki in the Pātāla, to whom we make our obeisance five times."

The Pātāla,
i.e. the
Nether
Regions.

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

7. " . . . There is the guardian deity in the village, to whom we make our obeisance five times."

Tutelary Dei-
ties of Vil-
lages.

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

8. " . . . There is Bhola (lit. lost in meditation) Maheshwara in the Gambhīra, to whom we make our obeisance five times."

Obeisance to
Bhola Mahe-
shwara in the
Gambhīra.

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

9. " . . . There is the Lord Dharma in the Gājan, to whom we make our obeisance five times."

Obeisance to
Dharma in
the Gājan.

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

10. " . . . There are thirty-six Sāins and seventy-two Bhaktas (devotees) in the Gājan, to whom we make our obeisance five times."

Obeisance to
the thirty-six
Sāins in the
Gājan.

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

(d) *Salutation-Hymns (in Eight Stanzas, hence called Shrivāstakam) to Shiva.*

"One should meditate on the eternal God of Gods, resplendent like a silver-hill, etc., etc."
(Recitation of the names, etc.)

(e) *Salutation to Sadā Shiva.*

"I make my obeisance to Sadā Shiva, the destroyer of sins and the repository of all attributes—the all-powerful god with a gracious face and with his cheeks decorated with ear-rings of snakes, who was formless at first and then became a person (i.e. assumed a form)."
(Recitation of the names, etc.)

(f) *The Dhula-sāpata Bhaktā (or the Bhakta that Dusts the Temple of Shiva with his Hair).*

Dhula-sāpata
Bhaktā.

Of the Sannyāsis of Gājan, one dances on one foot, and in this way comes to Shiva at the place of Gājan with the fist clenched over his head, and is made to recite the following hymn by the Mandala. He has to dust the floor of Shiva's temple with the hair of his head.

The hymn
which has to
be recited at
the time of
dusting the
temple.

1. "Lord, thou art like Atisini, like Vatisini : Vatisini is like Panchavatisini, which is again like Dharma Adhikāri (Lord of Dharma), and Dharma Adhikāri is, as it were, the feet of God. Beyond the seven oceans and near the Vallukā Sea is the seat of the eleventh Rudra, the servant of whose servants is the Dhula-sāpata Bhaktā."

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

2. "The temple has to be dusted with hair, under orders of the gods. The dust of heaven flies off to

heaven ; that of the earth remains on the earth ; and let the rest go to the storehouse of our father (i.e. Shiva)."

(And now all the Sannyâsis will cry together :)
"Glory to the Dhula-sâpata Bhaktâ!"

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

(g) *The Jala-sâpata Bhaktâ¹ (or the Bhakta that brings a Pitcher of Water to the Temple).*

Of the Sannyâsis of Gâjan, one will hold with his two hands a pitcher of water upon his head, and, following the lead of the Mandala, will recite the following hymn, dancing on one foot all the while :—

1. "Lord, thou art like Atisini, etc., etc."

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

2. "The water of heaven goes up to heaven ; that of the earth remains on the earth ; and the rest goes to the storehouse of our father (i.e. Shiva)."

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

(h) *The Salutation-Service of the Sannyâsis before the Four Doors of the Gâjan Temple.*

1. "The Purvapâra is in the East. Who is it that guards his door? It is the lion that guards there ; it is the rau (fire) that guards there. The names of my foes are written on plates of copper, etc., and thereat my face becomes upturned. Mrityunjaya (Conqueror of

¹ Similar to the "Jala-pâsâpa" (water and stone) hymn of the *Shunya Purâna* : "The ghata (an earthen water-pot symbolizing the in-filling power of God in nature) and the pata (pictorial representation of the god on a piece of canvas) are the sources of salvation. Orders have been given to bathe the ghata. The water of the Devi's ghata is well known in the world. Take, O Puspapâni (lit. he who has a flower in his hand—a name of Shiva) the water of the ghata that has been (formally) bathed."

Death, i.e. Shiva) himself is at the Eastern gate. Salutation to Shiva!"

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

Salutation before the Northern Door.

2. "Vahuti Vahu Pare is in the North. Who is it that guards his door? It is the lion, etc., etc. The Conqueror of Death is himself at the Northern gate. Salutation to Shiva!"

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

Salutation before the Western Door.

3. "Hanumanta is in the West. Who is it that guards his door? It is the lion, etc., etc. The Conqueror of Death himself is at the Western door. Salutation to Shiva!"

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

Salutation before the Southern Door.

4. "Bhava-rudreshwara is in the South. Who is it that guards, etc., etc. The Conqueror of Death is at the Southern door. Salutation to Shiva!"

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

(i) *The Daily Final Orders to the Sannyāsīs when going Home; or, the Final Orders after the Festivities of each Day are held, technically called "Orders by the Thākuras or Gods".*

1. "Lord, thou art like Atisini, etc., etc. . . . the servant of his servants."

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

Orders by the Gods.

2. "Bhaktas named Āyāla-atita and Bhaktas named Chhatrishasain Vao are making their obeisance five times to the Thākuras or gods.

"What are the pleasures of the gods?

"The gods are pleased to declare that they have been highly pleased with the five salutations. You are now free to return home, frisking and frolicking and singing.

"The champā flower adorns the head of Shiva.

"And he holds the oda flower in the name of his Bhaktas."

(Recitation of the names, etc.)

CHAPTER III.

THE GAMBHÎRĀ: A POPULAR FORM OF SHAIVA CULT IN EASTERN INDIA.

SECTION I.—THE SEVERAL PARTS OF THE GAMBHÎRĀ FESTIVITIES.

THE Gambhîrā festivities consist of :—

1. Ghata-bharā, the filling up with water of an earthen jar, symbolizing the infilling power of the god to be worshipped.
2. Chhota Tāmāsā, smaller amusements.
3. Bada Tāmāsā, greater amusements.
4. Āhārā, a particular worship, and
5. Chadaka Pujā, the swinging or whirling religious ceremony, observed by the Hindus on the last day of the month of Chaitra (March-April).

The dates for these several festivities are thus fixed. If the month of Chaitra, when the Gambhîrā worship is held, closes on the 30th day, then the Ghata-bharā takes place on the 26th, the Chhota Tāmāsā on the 27th, the Bada Tāmāsā on the 28th, the Āhārā on the 29th, and the whole ceremony is wound up with the Chadaka Pujā on the 30th.

The Ghata-bharā.

Generally, on the day previous to that fixed for the installation of the Ghata as symbol of the god to be worshipped, Chhota Tāmāsā, the ceremony of Ghata-sthāpana, i.e. the installation of the Ghata, earthen jar, as the symbol of god to be worshipped.

the god to be worshipped, is held. This rule is not, however, observed in all the centres of the worship. According to their own traditions, in some places it takes place a week and in others three or nine days before.

There are persons who observe severe austerities during the month of Chaitra as a means of propitiating the God Shiva, and earning an uncommon religious merit. They observe fasts, abstain from many of the enjoyments of life and go through many other hard vows. They are really temporary votaries of the god and generally called Sannyāsis. It is the privilege of the chief of them to help in preparing the offering of rice and the other items of the Gambhīrā worship. In some places this office is found to have become hereditary, but in most places it has become salaried. In former times the Bhaktas or votaries observed the customary vows and injunctions with punctiliousness from this day, but the practice seems to have almost died out now. The Gambhīrā-house is lighted from this day.

The lighting
of the Gam-
bhīrā.

On this day of Ghata-bharā, a general meeting is called, and in that meeting it is formally settled unanimously to fill up and instal the Ghata, and the Mandala sanctions it. After dusk, the Brāhmaṇa priest, in the midst of a loud music struck up by large drums, known as Dhākkas and used only at the time of worship, goes to and fills up the Ghata with water from the nearest tank or river, in accordance with a practice that has obtained from time immemorial, and then instals it according to the injunctions of the Shāstras (Scriptures) on this point. No other ceremonies are held this day.

The Chhola Tāmāsā.

On the day fixed for the lesser festivities no ceremonies are held; but the worship of Hara-Pārvatī (Shiva and his wife) commences on this day, and those who have in

the name of Shiva voluntarily taken the vow (in expectation of propitiating him and receiving some definite favours from him), dress themselves as, and apparently adopt the life of, Bhaktas or Sannyāsis, i.e. votaries. The majority of these Bhaktas are boys and are known as Vāla-bhaktas (boy-votaries).

The Bada Tāmṣā.

The next day at some auspicious time between sunrise and sunset the customary worship of Hara-Pārvatī is celebrated. In the afternoon a procession of Bhaktas starts out. This procession is a very entertaining one and closely resembles that formed by the Sannyāsis of Gājan on the day of the Nilapujā (worship of Hara-Gaurī on the last but one day of the month of Chaitra) at Kālighāt in Calcutta. In every Gambhīrā all the Bhaktas, young and old alike, have to take part in this festivity. From every Gambhīrā-pandal they start out dancing. Dressing themselves, according to their own tastes and pleasure, as male and female ghosts and goblins, as makers of fireworks, and their wives as Rāmats (devotees of Rāma), as players on bagpipes or as Santhals and other aboriginal tribes, etc., they proceed from pandal to pandal.¹ Some of them pierce either side of their chests with small arrows looking like tridents, wrap round the outer ends of these tridents pieces of cloth soaked in oil and then put fire to them. In this way they go out dancing, some one continually throwing powders of dhupa (a fragrant gum-resin burnt before idols) on this fire. This festivity is brought to an end before the close of the day.

Bada Tāmṣā
processions,
piercing of
bodies with
arrows.

In the evening a sort of mask-play, known as Hanu-mān-mukhā (mask of Hanumān) is held. Some one

¹ There are very often several pandals in one village or town at different wards.

among the votaries puts on the mask of Hanumân and makes for himself a long tail with unripe banana leaves. Round the outer end of this tail dry banana leaves are wrapped, when the player stands up before the spectators. Then two persons hold up before him a piece of cloth and fire is applied to his tail; and with this burning tail he leaps over the piece of cloth and returns in the same way to his former place. This seems to be a fair representation of the monkey-god Hanumân's leaping across the sea and burning Ceylon, the piece of cloth representing the sea. The story is well known to readers of the *Râmâyana*.

Phulbhāṅgā,
calling by
names, danc-
ing in various
guises.

After the part of Hanumân is played, the Vāla-bhaktas march out in a body, crying aloud "Shivanātha ki mahesha" (Oh, what a god of gods is our Shivanātha), and dancing to the music struck up by drums, towards an adjacent tank. Here they break down twigs from a jack tree and make up a bundle with these and a hemp plant. Then they put these bundles on their breasts and perform their ablutions. Thereafter they return to the Gambhīrā-pandal dancing, as before, to the music of drums, and "calling by names" (meaning probably crying aloud "Shivanātha ki mahesha") they bow low and place the bundles in the temple. Then, as on the previous day, they go through the salutation-hymns and return thereafter to the bundles. The priest now sprinkles "shānti jala" (holy water calculated to confer peace and happiness) over them. Then when flowers offered to and thus blessed by Shiva are placed over these bundles (technically called phula, flower), the devotees take away their respective "flowers" (bundles) and start a dance, firmly holding them against their breasts. This continues till, in obedience to a special note struck up by the drum, they roll themselves several times on the ground, bow low simultaneously and then

place their "flowers" in the Shiva-Gambhīrā. This is technically known as Phula-bhāṅgā (lit. breaking of flowers). Then wave-offerings are presented to Shiva-Durgā (i.e. Hara-Gaurī), and thereafter the whole Gambhīrā temple is illumined, as it were, with garlands of lights. It is at nine in the night that dances on small scales are started; and these include mask-dances of ghosts and goblins, of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, of Shiva and Durgā, of an old man and his old wife, of a horse, of fairies, of Kārtika (God of War, son of Shiva and Durgā), and of the Chāli (the decorated background of an image). The dancing is attended with the music of long drums and Kāṁsis (a musical instrument made of bell-metal). When the farewell note is struck by the long drum, the dancers cease dancing and go away for another Gambhīrā-pandal. The musicians generally get rewards from the rich spectators, and in some cases they obtain even new pieces of cloth.

Gradually various songs commemorating the merits and demerits of Shiva are sung in his honour. At this time Bhaktas come in troops into the Gambhīrā and amuse the spectators with their songs and dancing.

Shiva both
blamed and
praised.

Songs are also sung, exposing the wickedness of the countryman or fellow-villager that has done during the year, no matter whether covertly or overtly, anything unjustifiable. The singers dress themselves as males and females and sing these songs either in chorus or individually. Besides, hymns in honour of Shiva, and songs of a lighter character, are also sung on the occasion.

About daybreak but before sunrise the dancing of the mashāna, technically known as mashāna nācha, takes place. The word mashāna properly means a cemetery or crematorium; here it seems to mean the Goddess of Destruction. One of the Bhaktas plays the part of this goddess. He dresses himself as a woman with

The dancing
of the ma-
shāna, the ex-
citing music,
and river-bath
in the
morning.

dishevelled hair, with her forehead besmeared with vermillion, with her heaving breasts encased in a *kānchali* (a sort of short jacket) and with her wrists adorned with bracelets of conch-shells. Decorated with ornaments and with her face painted in such a way as to strike terror into the hearts of the spectators, this *mashāna* dances with various gestures; and her attendants throw powdered resin into the fire in an incense-pot and hold up, by way of appeasing her wrath, the smoke thus produced before her face. This appeasing ceremony is observed also during the dancings of *Kālī* and other Goddesses of Terror in the *Gambhīrā*-house. When the drummer strikes up the note of stirring up (*Mātāna*) then the *mukhā* (mask) dance reaches the highest pitch of frenzy. At this time the priest places a garland of flowers and the smoke of burnt incense before the maskers representing *Kālī* and others, and they become appeased after turning their faces in the direction of the smoke and inhaling it, and the *mashāna* *Kālī* rolls herself on the ground. After this the *Bhaktas* travel from *Gambhīrā* to *Gambhīrā* till 8 or 9 a.m., and then, bathing together in the river, return to their respective homes.

The Āhārā Pujā.

Particulars of
the Āhārā
Pujā and its
procession.

On the day following the *Bada Tāmāsā*, after the *mashāna* dance and the worship of *Hara-Pārvatī* are over, the ceremony of *homa* (casting of clarified butter into the sacred fire as an offering to gods) and the feeding of *Brāhmaṇas* and virgins, take place. On this day an unripe bamboo or its branch is planted on the ground in one side of the *pandal*, and a mango and some blossoms of the banana tree with some other articles are tied to it. Then this post is duly worshipped, and this worship is known as the *Āhārā Pujā*. If, after the *Āhārā Pujā* is over, any one passes through the *Gam-*

bhīrā with his shoes on or with his umbrella spread over his head, he is regarded as an offender and is punished by the Mandala. The practice has, however, died out now. During the third part of this day also, a procession like that of the third day starts out from the Gambhirā.

On the day of Āhārā, cultivation by Shiva is represented¹ before the spectators in the following way. Some plough the field, some sow paddy, some plant the plants and others devour paddy like cattle. Then comes the reaping of the harvest, and last of all the Mandala or the chief votary brings the scene to a close with the question, "What's the quantity of the paddy grown?" The prospect of the year's paddy is determined according to the answer given.

Cultivation
by Shiva.

Volvāhi.

At night on the fourth day songs of a special character are sung in chorus by two or more persons. These songs are technically called *Volvāhi*. They are not only different in name, their tunes also are different from those of the previous night. On this night no mask-dance takes place. The festivities of this day are performed with songs and music only. The tunes of these songs are quite characteristic.

Gambhirā
songs, their
muddā
(theme).

The theme of a song is technically called its *muddā*. Every song must have a *muddā* of its own, and the quality of the song depends on the quality of this *muddā*. To explain more clearly what is meant by the *muddā*, let us take the following case. Suppose there was an earthquake this year. The song that will dwell on this

¹This is done in the same way both in Dharma's and Shiva's Gājan. The description of Shiva's cultivation in the *Shunya Purāṇa* is of a piece with the descriptions in well-known Indian works on cultivation.

earthquake will be taken to have the earthquake as its muddā. There are expert composers of songs for the purpose. They are called Khalifās or Professors. If the audience will suggest to them themes they will compose songs on them. In singing those songs which have nuptial quarrels or any other matter connected with both males and females as their themes, the singers dress themselves as such and play their respective parts.

The Samsole Chhādā (Letting off of the Samsole Fish).

Samsole
Chhādā,
crossing the
Vaitarāṇī and
Agni-jhāmp
(fire-jump).

In a basin a small Sakula fish is kept alive. Afterwards it is taken to the nearest tank or river and let off into it. This is known as Samsole Chhādā or the letting off of the Samsole fish. In the evening of the day of Āhārā a small hole is excavated on the ground and filled with water. Then a fish is let off into it and the Bhaktas leap across it. This ceremony is observed till now in the Gambhīrā of Dhānatalā in Malda. Then a hole is dug in front of the Gambhīrā and two bamboo posts are planted on opposite sides. Thereafter another bamboo post is placed across them and the branches of trees making up the "Phulbhāṅgā" are fetched and placed on the hole. Then fire is applied to these branches and powdered resin is occasionally thrown into the fire thus kindled. One by one the Bhaktas now get up on the horizontal bar, tie their feet to it and then hang themselves down and rock to and fro seven times with their heads downwards inhaling the choking smoke of burnt resin rising up from the fire beneath. In some places this is known as Agni-jhāmp (jump into fires). A description of this ceremony is to be found also in *Dharma mangala*. Thus it is said there :—

"Over the sacrificial fire burning bright, they rock to and fro with their feet upwards, and heads downwards rolling on the ground."

"Powdered resin is thrown profusely into that."

The ceremony of Samsole Chhâdâ seems to be but a Malda edition¹ of the "crossing of the Vaitaraṇi"² (the river that is supposed to run between the land of the living and the land of the dead and that must be crossed by the departing soul), to be found in Dharma's Gājan in West Bengal. Here the Vaitaraṇi is excavated on the ground and filled with water, and a fish is let off into it. A Pandit (priest) standing, cane in hand, on its brink, recites incantations for the purpose, and the Sannyâsis cross the Vaitaraṇi, catching hold of the tail of a cow.

"Dānapati ferries (passengers) with the help of a cow's tail."

According to the *Skunya Purāṇa*, "Under the waters of the Vaitaraṇi live and move sundry-coloured fish".

Dhenki-mangala.

In connexion with Dharma's Gājan are represented the Dhenki-mangala ceremony and the advent of the sage Nārada on a husking pedal (made of a large and long block of wood). In the Gambhirās of Malda also both these ceremonies are observed, the former under the name of Dhenki Chumāna. On this occasion the Bhaktas carry on their heads into the Gambhirā a dhenki coloured with turmeric paste and dotted with vermilion marks, attended with the joyous shout of "Ulu, Ulu"

Dhenki-man-
gala and re-
ception
accorded to
the sage
Nārada.

¹ This festivity is held in the Gambhirās of Dhāntalā and some adjacent places on the days of the Bada Tāmāsā and the Abhārā. According to the injunctions in the *Skunya Purāṇa* and *Dharma-pujā-paddhati*, a tank is excavated to bathe therein for attaining religious merit.

² The Styx of Hindu mythology.

uttered by women. One of the Bhaktas sits on it representing Nārada. The rest, after circumambulating the Shiva temple with this Nārada on his dhenki, place it on the courtyard of the Gambhīrā-house.

On this point we have in the *Shunya Purāna* :—

"The gods ordered the four Kotālas (constables) to fetch Nārada without delay.

"Hearing this the lord of sages (Nārada) equipped his conveyance, dhenki, and started on it."

And thus he came to the Vāramati-house, i.e. the place of Gājan.

The flight of the dhenki is described below :—

"Attended with the songs of frogs, the three-legged dhenki started on its aerial journey for the place of the gods."

"As soon as Nārada thus appeared before them, the gods welcomed him cordially and seated him on a jewelled throne."

"The Lord of Tridiva (heaven) worshipped the dhenki with garlands of fragrant flowers; and celestial damsels cheerfully received it with due forms, uttering the joyous shout of 'Ulu, Ulu'."

Reception is accorded to the dhenki in the Gambhīrā in the following way :—

"The wise men present recite the Vedic hymns and receive the dhenki with leaves of the piper betel (afterwards cast away), attended with the shout of 'Ulu, Ulu' uttered in close succession."

After the dhenki is thus received with the uttering of Vedic hymns, with the shouts of "Ulu, Ulu" and with betel leaves, the last one thrown away, Rāmāi Pandit invokes it, for conferring blessings on Dānapati.

He says :—

"This is my earnest prayer that Thou wilt never look

with disfavour on Dānapati ; rather that Thou wilt ever have his good at heart."

Even now on the occasions of Anna Prāshana (the ceremony with which rice is given for the first time to a child), Upanayana (i.e. investiture with a sacred thread) and marriage, the good housewives of Bengal do not forget to pay their respects to the dhenki and invoke its blessings.

This is what is known as Dhenki Chumāna in Malda.

SECTION II.—THE SEVERAL CENTRES FOR THE GAMBHÎRĀ FESTIVITIES.

The festivities that are held in connexion with the worship of the various Hindu gods, but more especially of Shiva, have in course of time received various designations in various places. They were, however, originally one, and are everywhere held in temples named Gambhîrā. Hence it is apparent that they are but the Gambhîrā (festivity) under different names.

Along with differences in names, differences have also crept in in the attendant ceremonies. In some places the festivities have received the name of Gājan ; they have widely spread under the names of Shiva's Gājan and Dharma's Gājan ; while in Orissa the name Sāhiyātrā has also been applied to them.

Should an attempt be made to give a geographical account of the places where this festivity is held at the present day, an interesting chapter of the history of religion would be opened thereby. We name at the outset the places where Gambhîrā festivities are now seen to be held. These places are—Dinajpur, Rangpur, Rajshahi, Malda and Moorshidabad.

It is on the eastern side of the Ganges that the

Gambhīrā festivities are observed. In some villages of the Moorshidabad district, situated on the other side of the latter, they are also seen to have prevailed. On inquiry, however, it has been learnt that these villages have recently been peopled by men from the eastern side of this river.

Festivities like the Gambhīrā are found to be held also in Orissa, Midnapore, Birbhum, Burdwan, Nadia, Hughli, 24 Parganas, Khulna, Jessore, and Faridpur, but under the name of Sāhiyātrā in the first two, and of Gājan in the rest.

The word "Gambhīrā" is found to occur in connexion with the ceremonies that are held in celebrating the Gājan in Birbhum, Burdwan, Hughli, etc. This leads us to infer that their old name was really Gambhīrā, although afterwards for some inevitable cause this was changed to Gājan. The Gājan of Bābā (Father, lord) Ishāneshvara of village Kudmun in Būrdwan was formerly held in the Gambhīrā-Mandapa (temple named Gambhīrā after the festivity that was first held there). It has been found on inquiry that it was due to the influx there of the goldsmiths of Gauda, the ancient capital of Bengal (now in ruins in the district of Malda).

Of all these festivities the Gambhīrā of Malda deserves the most special notice, for this particular reason, that the original character of the Gambhīrā has been fully preserved here.

SECTION III.—POPULAR DECORATIONS.

Paper lotuses.

The first thing that attracts the attention of spectators at the Gambhīrā celebrations of Malda is the decoration of the dancing-house or pandal attached to and forming the front of the Gambhīrā-temple. For it has a pecu-

liarity of its own, such as is not observable in the decorations of the temples or of the Bāro-yāri Mandapa (a temporary temple erected by public subscription for the worship of a god or goddess on a particular occasion) of the other districts. Here almost the whole of the Gambhīrā-Mandapa is thickly decorated with paper lotuses of various colours. Over that part of the pavilion which is reserved for dance and music, nothing is spread and no arrangement is made for the party to sit upon, so that they have to play their respective parts on the bare ground.

There are reasons for thus decorating the entire Gambhīrā with paper lotuses of various colours. This practice has obtained without interruption from very early times. In connexion with Dharma's Gājan¹ the dehārā (temple) of Ādya (lit. the original, i.e. the first, the primitive deity) was decorated, as now, with lotuses. No doubt in olden times the Gambhīrā-Mandapa also looked brave and gay with live lotuses culled from nature. Now, however, this has become an impossibility for two reasons; first, flowers are not so abundant now as in those days, and secondly, the festivities extending over three or four days, the beauty and grandeur of the decoration cannot be kept unimpaired unless fresh

¹ In the *Chandī* of Mānik Datta we find that Dharma created a lotus and sat on it. Thus he says:—

"The Gosāi (the All-Powerful Lord) conjured a lotus before himself.

"He then took his seat on it and began to mutter prayers to the First Cause." (*Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā*, No. IV, p. 251, 1317, B.S.)

In *Dharmamangala* of Mānik Gānguli also we have "There are many-petalled lotuses in full bloom".

"Getting down into the waters, I plucked innumerable lotuses."

"Then meditating on, and saying 'Salutation to,' Brahman, I cast those lotuses in limitless waters."

flowers be procured every day. For these reasons the decorators find it more convenient to have recourse to paper lotuses.

The Gambhîrâ-Mandapa is not now decorated in the same way as it was in former days, e.g. fifty years back. The Gambhîrâ-temple and the attached dancing-hall looked brisk with fresh lotuses of lively colours and with the genial glow of lights burning with ghee (clarified butter), and were filled with the scented smoke of burnt resin and frankincense.

The dancing-hall was lighted by Sarâ or earthen cups. This was done in the following way. Upon the top of a bamboo-post was placed an earthen cup and in it a wick drenched with mustard oil. The projecting end of this wick was lighted and occasionally the lamp thus made was replenished with oil from a bamboo tube. Incenses were also burnt here. Torches made of rags fastened to the end of a stick and drenched with oil were also used on the occasion. When the votaries appeared on the scene to dance and sing, these torches were kindled, and in the glaring light thus made they exhibited their various performances. With lighted ukâs, bundles of dried jute plants, the performers went from Gambhîrâ to Gambhîrâ. No arrangements were made for the public to sit upon, but they brought their own seats with them. For such respectable personages as the Mandala, a sort of bed was spread with coarse sackcloth. The organizers, however, entertained the audience with tobacco and smoking apparatuses. Gradually, in order to ward off the sun, a canopy of sackcloth was hung up over the dancing stage with the help of bamboo-posts. Some open iron lamps of a peculiar kind, with four faces and known as chomackas, were suspended here and there with iron chains. These lamps were also placed on big stands, from three to five feet

high. To regulate the flow of oil, a thick lump of clay was put in the centre of the lamp. This prevented the oil from gathering about the wick, but did not stand in the way of its drawing it slowly. To add to and complete the effect of the decoration, a few pictures drawn on cloths, known as Rāmakeli and besmeared with clay, were hung up here and there.

In course of time, with the rapid flow of luxury, large canopies, big chandeliers, wall-lamps, lanterns, etc., with candles, pictures by the Art Studios of Calcutta, and the canvas paintings of Kālighât (southern portion of Calcutta, named after the well-known image of the Goddess Kālī located there) have come to replace the old articles of decoration. Nay, pictures by the well-known Indian artist Ravi Varmā, high-class kerosine lamps, flags and standards, garlands of various patterns, bouquets, birds of art, fruits and blossoms, gaslight and many other items of foreign decoration are not infrequently resorted to, to make the Gambhīrā-house look grand and glorious even in the eyes of modernists. The sitting place also with its carpet, bedding, big pillows, silver-capped hubble-bubbles, bears clear testimony to the influence of new ideas within the walls of the Gambhīrā. Chairs and benches, ātar-dāns (vessels from which otto is poured), and golāppāses (vessels from which rose-water is sprinkled) are also richly in evidence. The heads of the spectators are cooled every now and then by showers from syringes filled with rose-water, and coloured torches are lighted to add to the effect of the dancing.

The lotus-decorated Gambhīrā-mandapas of the old days have not, however, been wholly extinct. The Gambhīrās of the Koch, Palihās (nicknamed Vāngāls, or rustics) of Varind (the outlying northern villages of Malda district), have even now preserved their ancient character.

With the advance of luxury the cost of decorations has enormously increased at present.

The primitive character of the Gambhīrās preserved in Varind.

SECTION IV.—THE SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

In every village there are one or more Mandalas or headmen. The Mandala is the most important and wise man of the village. In olden times all the village affairs were settled and managed under his directions. An estimate of his position may be formed from the following Sanskrit saying, "*Grāmasya Mandalo Rājā*, i.e. the head-man is the king of the village". He was held in esteem even by the Zamindar or landlord. Rents and taxes were realized through him with greater ease and less disturbance. He was bound, for this ensured success, to render help to Government officers whenever they came to the village on some business or other. In later times the Government created the post of Sāhātana, vesting him with many of the duties formerly discharged by the Mandala. Even now many families are found to retain this title, shorn of its dignity and duties.

Separate
Mandalas for
separate com-
munities.

There is a Gambhīrā under every Mandala and no Gambhīrā is found that is not under the control of a Mandala. In every village there are separate Mandalas for separate communities. Although this holds good in Malda also, and although accordingly there are separate Gambhīrās for each of the several castes, yet there is to be found here a common Gambhīrā-worship celebrated by a General Assembly, as it were, of all the castes and sects. It is called Chhatrisi (lit. belonging to thirty-six, i.e. an indefinite number, hence it means common) Gambhīrā. The post of the Mandala of this common temple is held by one of the sectarian Mandalas. The meeting, called Vaithaka, that is convened to discuss and settle some business of this Gambhīrā, is called after it the Chhatrisi Vaithaka or the sitting of the thirty-six.

Grants for
Gambhīrā.

In former days the Zamindar granted to the Mandala some rent-free land or reduced his dues below the pre-

vailing rate of rents as a mark of respect for him and also to enable him to maintain his dignity. Besides this he also made some small allowance, in the shape of rent-free lands, for the establishment of the tutelary deities of villages and the Gambhīrā-worship. For this reason old Gambhīrās are even now found to be in possession of some landed property. In mediæval times the assets from these lands were quite sufficient for the expenses of Shiva worship, but now they can meet only a part. Primitive Gambhīrās have thus rent-free lands of their own, through gifts from Zamindars or rulers, while those of more recent origin have no such source of income. There are, however, some among the latter that are found to hold land rent-free or rent-paying from quite different sources.

The Mandala exercises a great sway over the community of which he is the head. It is he who punishes the social culprits; and these can exonerate themselves from the obloquy of having violated a social law or custom and the consequent punishment inflicted by the Mandala, only by making, in the name of the Gambhīrā or its Lord Shiva, some gifts of land or some other equivalent things. Besides, if any one die without an heir he makes over his property to the Gambhīrā. These gifts are casual sources of income.

In course of time the members of the Mandala family increase in number and there occasionally break out feuds among themselves; and on such occasions, among other things, the Gambhīrā also turns out to be an apple of discord. The villagers also side with the contending parties, and thus there arises a necessity for the establishment of a separate Gambhīrā for the seceding branch of the Mandala family and its supporters; and they have to forego their claims to the old Gambhīrā. In this way in course of time there spring up more than one Gam-

How the
number
increases.

bhîrâ in a village, without, however, any claims to the funds or any part of them from the original one. In some villages, however, only the Chhatrisî Gambhîrâ is to be found. Besides these, there occasionally leap into existence amateur Gambhîrâ organizations also, which generally die out after a year or so. These are not controlled by any Mandalas. They are appropriately styled Sakher Gambhîrâs, i.e. those for pleasure.

Budget of
the Gam-
bhîrâ.

A short while before the time fixed for the celebration of the Gambhîrâ festivities, a general meeting, called Vaithaka, of the villagers is convened to settle the financial question. In this meeting an estimate is formed by the Mandala, with the assistance of the other gentlemen present, of the probable expenses to be incurred, and thereafter a list of subscriptions is prepared. This is what is known as the Bhāngan of the Gambhîrâ. The Vaithaka is held in awe by the villagers; for in it all social offences are also tried and punished and the "Gambhîrâcess" is instituted.

SECTION V — THE NAME OF THE INSTITUTION.

Gambhîrâ
means a
house of God,
a temple.

The question may naturally arise how the festivities and ceremonies that are held in honour of the God Shiva in the Râdha country (western part of Bengal, comprising the Hughli and Burdwan districts, the northern division being Varendra) and generally known there as Shiva's Gâjan,¹ have come to receive the appellation of Âdya's Gambhîrâ (Gambhîrâ of Âdya the first goddess, the origin of creation) in Malda. In mediæval times houses like Chandi-mandapa (a house for the worship of the goddess Chandi, personified divine energy in full splen-

¹ It is a comprehensive name including the festivities that are held and the self-tortures that are undergone by the devotees of Shiva in the month of Chaitra (March-April), beginning on the first day and ending with a worship of the god on the last day.

dour) were called Gambhīrī or Gambhīrā in this part of the country. At least, we learn from the *Songs of Govindachandra* that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (?) the name Gambhīrā was exclusively applied to houses of the above description. For we find there :—

"The Queen had the two messengers tied down in the Gambhīrā."

"The ascetic sat down in meditation in the Gambhīrā and came to know [of this]."

"Hādipā [spiritual preceptor of Govindachandra's mother] applied himself to religious meditation in the Gambhīrā."

"[He] left behind his own body in the Gambhīrā and taking, through his illusive powers, the airs of an astrologer, [he] set out."

From the above uses of the word Gambhīrā, it is clear that it refers to a house of meditation or worship like the Chandī-mandapa.

Householders kept Buddha-pada (foot-print of Buddha) or Dharma-pādukā (sandals used by Dharma) in the Gambhīrā of their houses. In course of time the goddess Ādyā came to be installed and worshipped there. And afterwards when she received worship under the name of Chandikā, her ghata (a jar of water symbolizing her in-filling power) was also placed in the Gambhīrā. Then again, by and by, Chandikā came to be regarded as the wife of Shiva, and joint images of Hara (another name of Shiva) and Gaurī (another name of Chandikā) were installed in the Gambhīrā. Thus we see that in the very temple where during Buddhistic supremacy the festivities of Dharma were held, during Shaiva supremacy worship was offered to, and festivities held in honour of, Hara and Gaurī.

It was not only in Malda, Rangpur, Dinajpur and

The dwelling-house of the goddess Chandikā.

Shiva's temple
in the Râdha
country.

adjacent places in Varendra or North Bengal that the Gambhîrâ was transformed into Chandi-mandapa or Shiva's temple, the same practice came to obtain also in the district of Burdwan in Râdha or West Bengal. From the panegyrics offered to Shiva in the Râdha country in the course of his Gâjan we find that Gambhîrâ meant here the temple of Shiva. Thus, in the panegyrics of Bâbâ (Father) Ishâneshwara (a name of Shiva) in the course of his Gâjan at the village of Kudmun in Burdwan we come across such lines as these :—

"There in the Gambhîrâ is Maheshwara (god of gods), who is ever lost in meditation. Five times do I make my obeisance at his feet."

It is clear that in the Râdha country also Gambhîrâ meant the temple of Shiva.

Vaiṣṇava
Scriptures.

Consulting the Vaiṣṇava Scriptures also one would find that Gambhîrâ meant a temple of Shiva, or a temple generally. This will be clear from the following couplet in *Chaitanya Charitâmrita* :—

"I will not sleep at night in the Gambhîrâ.

"For it results in the interior of the mouth and the head being ulcerated or scarred."

In this book Gambhîrâ has been definitely made to refer to a temple and to contain four doors. Lord Chitanya (1485-1533) once passed a night there.

The following lines from the manuscript of *Chând Vâul* by Kedârânth Datta Bhaktivinoda may also be quoted :—

"Inside the Antar-gambhîrâ (inner temple) at the Âkhâdâ, a house of congregation of the followers of Chaitanya, there is a bed spread. There are two dimly burning and flickering lights on two sides of it. The main gate has been closed. In the centre of the bed is sitting the chief Vâul (a class of religious minstrels) Kisor Dâsa."

Also in the incantations that are meant for the offering of oblations to the manes of the departed, we come across the word Gambhīrā, and Gambhīrā there seems clearly to mean "a house".

It also occurs in the panegyrics that are offered to Shiva in Orissā. Thus:—

"Hymns in honour of Mahādeva (Shiva).

"I bow down at the feet of the inhabitants of Kailāsa [the residence of Shiva] so that they may be pleased to leave Kailāsa for this place. May the wielder of the Khattāṅga [a peculiar weapon used by Shiva] and enemy of the god of passions be pleased to turn here for a moment to remove my afflictions. He is the much beloved husband of Gaurī and the only object of adoration by the ascetic. Bearing Gangā [the tutelary deity of the Ganges] upon his head, he bears the name of Gangādhara. Bells are ringing fast in the ghora Gambhīrā, the inner apartment, and lord Ardha-chandra [a name of Shiva, as his forehead is adorned with a half-moon], as luck would have it, is preparing himself.

A dark inner chamber in Orissā.

"Standing up, Kavi Karga makes it known that he has, to some extent, succeeded in winning the grace of Mahādeva."

In the above quotation we have "Bells are ringing fast in the ghora Gambhīrā". Hence it is clear that the image of Shiva was installed in a very dark inner apartment of the house, and it was this inner apartment, this temple of Shiva, that was called Gambhīrā.

It is further clear from the above account that as Gambhīrā meant the temple of Shiva or a temple generally, it was here that Shiva was worshipped and his festivities were held. In course of time the festivities of Shiva held in the Gambhīrā came to be regarded, *after the name of the place*, as Gambhīrā-worship.

There is a further reason for the contention that

Gambhîrâ means a temple of Shiva. In mediæval times the temple of Shiva used to be decorated with Gambhîrâ or lotus (*nelumbium speciosum*). Hence it will not be unreasonable to conclude that the festivities that are now known as Gambhîrâ came to be regarded as such owing to the fact that they were held in a place called Gambhîrâ, which was decorated with Gambhîrâ flowers.

In *Shiva-Samhitâ*, again, we find Gambhîra as a name of Shiva.¹ From this it also seems probable that just as the place of worship of the goddess Chandi has received the name of Chandi-Mandapa, the place where the festivities were held in honour of Shiva under the name of Gambhîra has become known as Gambhîrâ-Mandapa. It may thus be the name of the deity that has furnished the name of the *locale*, and ultimately that of the stage and the performances.

¹ Cf. *Yugâdikrid yugâ varto Gambhîro vṛṣa-vâhanaḥ*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GĀJAN: A POPULAR FORM OF SHAIVA CULT IN EASTERN INDIA.

THE current name for the festivities that are held in honour of Shiva towards the close of the month of Chaitra (March-April), and the swinging ceremony that is performed on the last day of this month (generally known as Chadaka-pujā), is the Gājan of Shiva. Those who have witnessed this Gājan ceremony will clearly understand that it is this Gājan that has received the name of Gambhīrā in Malda. The literal meaning of Gājan is "Festivities held in honour of Shiva," and the word seems to have been derived from the Sanskrit word "Garjana," meaning a loud clamour, since the ceremony is performed in the midst of a loud clamour caused by the shouting and singing of the Sannyāsis and the noisy music struck up by long drums.

The Shaiva cult has long exercised a considerable sway over Bengal. Not a single village but has not its own temple of Shiva. The festivities and the theatrical representations of the popular form (called Yātrā) that are held annually in the month of Chaitra in honour of Shiva, are held in these village temples. Several other ceremonies are also performed in this connexion.

As in the Gambhīrā festivities, the system of management by the Mandala is also observable in some places.

The system of management by the Mandala.

in connexion with the Gājan of Shiva. The title of Mandala and the system of management by the Mandala are still in vogue among the Podas and similar low-class people in the villages of Gopālanagar, Chetlā, Tāliganj, etc., in the Twenty-four Parganas. And, as in the Gambhīrās of Malda, in the Gājan of Shiva also, the Mandala is found to exercise a considerable sway. Nay, in many places it is he who manages all the affairs in connexion with the Gājan festivities; and it is he who is regarded as the master of the ceremonies.

Before the commencement of the Gājan of Shiva, the Mandala, following the time-honoured custom on such occasions, makes all necessary arrangements for the ceremonies to be held in connexion with this festival. The Ādi Shiva of the village has some landed property set apart for his maintenance. From its income are met all the essential expenses of the local worship. Should this source of income be found insufficient for the purpose, subscriptions are raised to augment it. Besides the Mandala, the Mula-Sannyāsi (or chief votary) is also a necessary factor in the due performance of the Gājan festivities. Attached to every temple of Shiva where these festivities are held, there is an hereditary post of Mula-Sannyāsi, although originally it was filled by selection from among the votaries of the time. It is this chief votary who makes all the necessary arrangements for the Gājan festivities, subject to control and direction by the Mandala, and who is primarily responsible for the due execution of the latter's requirements.

The Order of the Gājan Festivities.

Shiva's Gājan may be divided into the following six parts :—

1. Selection of Sannyāsis, called Sannyāsi-dharā.

(In some places it is also called marking, i.e. placing a phontā, or mark, on the forehead of the Sannyāsi.¹)

2. Shaving and abstinence from meat and fish, called Nijhād-kāmān.

3. Haviṣya (food consisting of boiled rice and ghee only) and Ghata-sthāpana (installation of the sacred pitcher).

4. Mahā-haviṣya (food consisting of fruits and roots only). On this day the festivities commence.

5. Fast, festivities, and the worship of Nilāvati.

6. Chadaka, the swinging ceremony. On this day the festivities are brought to a close.

1. *Sannyāsi-dharā.*

Six days before the Chadaka, the Mula-Sannyāsi ^{Abstinence from fish and meat.} enters the village in the afternoon, attended by loud music produced by the beating of long drums. Those who have taken the voluntary vow of becoming Sannyāsis gather together on the occasion. In some cases the Mula-Sannyāsi is found to put marks of sandal-paste on their foreheads (and thus mark them out, as it were, as votaries of Shiva); in others, after assembling, they get themselves shaved. The Mula-Sannyāsi is shaved first of all, and, after this is done, the votaries go in a body to bathe in the adjacent river or tank, dancing all the while to the music of long drums. After bathing, they take their supper, avoiding fish and meat, from separate plates. This ceremony is called Samyama or abstinence.

2. *Nijhād-kāmān, or Shaving.*

Next day, all the other volunteer Sannyāsis get themselves shaved in the afternoon, after they have taken their food (avoiding fish and meat), and assemble

¹ The votaries of Gambhīrā and Gājan are technically known as Sannyāsis. But generally speaking the term denotes persons who abstain from all worldly desires and enjoyments.

in a place to dance to the music of long drums. All those who intend playing the parts of Sannyâsis, have to get themselves shaved on this day ; for later than this no Sannyâsis are taken. The shaving of this day is in some places called Nijhâd-kâmân. Those only who desire to be Sannyâsis, or who, by way of propitiating the god, have voluntarily promised to serve as such, are enlisted in the ranks of Sannyâsis. They have invariably to go through the following course : Eating of food consisting of boiled rice and ghee only ; eating of fruits only ; fasts ; passing sleepless nights ; dusting the temple (called dhulat) ; and swinging.

3. *Havisya.*

Ghata-sthâ-
pana, Gâjane
Shiva and
Utari-parâ.

For the performance of the above ceremonies the services of the Gâjane Brâhmaṇa¹ are not required. They are required for the first time on the day of Havisya, when the Ghata-sthâpana (i.e. installation of a water-jar as symbolizing the in-filling power of the god) takes place. First the Sannyâsis go to bathe attended by the music of the long drums, and return with water and flowers in a vessel and sit down in wet clothes at the place of Gâjan. Then the Gâjane Brâhmaṇa puts round their necks a garland of small thread-balls strung together on a kusha grass, and touches their heads with the Gâjane Shiva.² As soon as this is done, they are

¹ The Gâjane Brâhmaṇa (so called from his officiating in the Gâjan festivities) is inferior to Brâhmaṇas of the high order, because he is the priest of the low-class people. He is superior, however, to Brâhmaṇas of the lowest order. He officiates in the Gâjan festivities as priest for Sannyâsis recruited from all the orders of society.

² If the image of Shiva in whose honour the Gâjan is held is permanently fixed and immovable, one or more small stones are used as his representatives, and one of these stone representatives of Shiva the Gâjane Brâhmaṇa takes up in his hands and makes the Sannyâsis touch it. After this, the stone is made over to them and they wor-

recognized as real Gājane Sannyāsis and become entitled to worship Shiva. The above-mentioned garland of thread-balls is technically called Uttariya (shortened by the Sannyāsis into Utari), and the ceremony of putting it on is called Utari-parā. After all this is gone through, worship is offered to Shiva. The Gājane Brāhmaṇa closes this worship by making the Sannyāsis recite hymns especially composed in honour of Shiva. The other hymns are recited, following the lead of the Mula-Sannyāsi, or in some places, of the Mandala himself. In different villages, slightly different hymns are sung in honour of Shiva; the underlying idea, however, is the same in all. The Mula-Sannyāsi takes the lead in all matters, the lesser ones have always to carry out his orders. He is held in greater esteem than any one else. The supper of the Sannyāsis consists of boiled rice and ghee only.

4. *Mahā-haviṣya.*

On the day of Mahā-haviṣya, the festivities of Gājan are started and the Sannyāsis have to go through the salutation service, the offering of worship, the reciting of hymns, etc. The whole day is passed in observing these ceremonies, and at night, after worship is offered to Shiva, the ceremony of Phul-kādhān, or "The Placing of Flowers" (explained below) is performed; and thereafter, among the votaries, some satisfy their hunger with one or two fruits and a small quantity of the water of the Ganges, and others partake of boiled rice with ghee, taking only three mouthfuls of it. This ceremony is called Mahā-haviṣya. Among the essential duties on this occasion are the daily performance of ship it in place of the original image. Processions are started carrying this stone in a palanquin or on the head of a Sannyāsi to some other place. It is this stone which is called Gājane Shiva.

dance, music and song, the reciting of the hymns of Shiva and the narration of his virtues.

The Phul-kâdhân, or Phul-châpân, is one of the essential ceremonies that are observed daily. This ceremony is performed as follows. First, with a view to securing blessings for the king, a leaf of the marmelos tree, drenched in the waters of the Ganges, is placed on the head of the image of Shiva, and to the accompaniment of music from the long drums the names of Shiva are recited. If the leaf falls off itself from the head of Shiva, it is taken as a sign that the god has been pleased with the ceremony and has deigned to show his approval. Then the same ceremony is repeated several times to invoke the blessing of the deity on the Zamin-dar (landlord) and the Sannyâsis. And, last of all, those who desire to be cured of their diseases, or who desire to have sons born to them through the favour of the god, come forward and repeat the ceremony.

A Procession. In the afternoon the Sannyâsis adorn their persons with various ornaments and set out in procession with canes in their hands and bearing aloft on their shoulders a palanquin inside which is placed the Gâjane Shiva. This procession is attended by the music of the long drums. In this manner the Sannyâsis march to the temples of Shiva in Gâjan-talâ, or place of Gâjan, in the different adjacent villages. Here they exchange embraces with, and dance and sing in the company of, their brother-workers and thus add to the importance of the occasion.

Every Gâjane Sannyâsi joins in the procession that marches out, according to local usage, with dancing, music, etc., from his own Gâjan-talâ to the original and principal Gâjan-talâ of the district. Here he joins his forces with those from other adjacent centres of Gâjan, and joins in the festivities that are held here

with music, dance and song. In some places the songs are sung in the same manner as the songs of the Kavi.¹ In this there are two rival parties contending with each other in making extempore verses. These songs are divided into the three parts of Châpân (a seemingly unanswerable charge made against the opponent after he has answered a previous charge), Chiten (a charge which is likely to excite the opponent), and Javâv (i.e. answers and rejoinders). There is in Tâliganj, a suburb of Calcutta, such an ancient and principal place of Gâjan, known as the "place of Vudâ (old) Shiva"; and Sannyâsis from the adjacent Gâjan-talâs of Kâlighat, Bhanipur, Chetlâ, Calcutta and Savjibâgân assemble here and pass the whole night with dance, song and music. Here also such festivities as are held in the Gambhîrâs of Malda take place. The passing of sleepless nights with such festivities and merrymakings is what is known as Jâgaran. The underlying idea of the songs is to some extent similar to that of the songs of Malda, for they consist likewise of hymns of Shiva and poetical recitals of his merits and demerits.

In many places of the Twenty-four Parganas, with the commencement of the Gâjan festivities, worship is also offered to the Crocodile of Shiva. By the side of the Gâjan-talâ a huge crocodile is shaped out with clay and its body is nicely finished and plastered. Its scales are made with the stones of the tamarind fruit and the interior of its mouth is besmeared with vermilion. An infant is shaped out with clay and placed before it in such a posture as to indicate that the crocodile is about to devour it. It is this crocodile which is known as Shiva's Crocodile. It has to be made as soon as the

Shiva's Crocodile, and the fighting up of the house of Nîla.

¹ Competitive versifying (cf. *Sangerkrîeg*) before large audiences has been a regular institution in Bengal's literary and social life.

Gājan festivities are started. At dusk the temple of Nila (a name of Shiva) is lit up. To place lamps in this house is calculated to confer high religious merits on women.

5. *Fasts.*

Worship of Nila. Music and dance in the guise of Shiva, Kālī, etc., before the emblem of Shiva.

The next day the Sannyāsis take no food whatsoever. At noon worship is offered and other ceremonies observed with great éclat. The daily worship is offered after the Phul-kādhān ceremony is gone through. Most of the Gājans of the Hughli district go to Tāra-keshwar on the occasion. A large number of processions assemble there. In the same way processions from adjacent places assemble at some well-known (old) place of Shiva in every district. Early in the morning of the Nilapujā day, the Gājane Sannyāsis and many other people of Calcutta and the neighbouring places flock to the temple of Kālī to offer worship there, and the painters of Patuātuli at Kālighat, on payment of necessary fees, paint the Sannyāsis, according to their pleasure, as Hara, Gaurī, Shiva, Kālī, male and female ghosts and spirits, animals, ascetics and mendicants. They pass in troops, dancing and singing, through groups of spectators, into the temple of Kālī, and, after offering worship to the goddess, bathe themselves and return; some of them, however, return dressed and decorated in the same way as they go. In the morning festivities of the Nilapujā day, Hindus and Mohammedans are found to join together. These festivities are similar to those of Malda, in which such mask dances as those of Chāmundā, Kālī, Vāsufī, etc., take place; and it shows clearly that in mediæval times these festivities were held throughout the length and breadth of Bengal.

After these ceremonies have been observed, the

Chadaka Post (on which devotees of Shiva swing on the occasion of the swinging ceremony performed on the last day of the month of Chaitra) has to be "awakened".¹ This is done in the following way. The Sannyāsis, uttering the name of Tārakeshwara Shiva get down into the waters of the tank in which the Chadaka Post remains immersed throughout the year, and begin to look about for it. Tradition has it that the Chadaka Post is endowed with superhuman powers—for some time it plays hide and seek with the searchers, diving deep into the waters and swimming like a fish from place to place, thus giving the Sannyāsis an opportunity to make themselves merry in the waters. Be that as it may, it is a fact that the Sannyāsis divert themselves for some time in the water under this pretext, and at length come up with the Post and take it to the place where it has to be planted. As in the Gambhīrā festivities, Vāṇa sodā (piercing the body with sharp hooks), Banti-jhāmp (jumping over scythes), Kāntā-jhāmp (jumping over thorns), and Agnidola (i.e. swinging over fire) and such other feats are also exhibited on a day fixed for the purpose, before the swinging ceremony is performed. In many places in connexion with the Gājan, another feat, named Mashāna-kridā, is also exhibited, in which the Sannyāsis, taking up dead bodies and severed heads, dance a wild dance, known as Tāndava.

In this Gājan of Shiva, the Sannyāsis sing hymns of Shiva, versified accounts of creation, hymns and salutation-songs in honour of other gods and goddesses, and many other songs regarding Shiva, such as his dressing himself in the guise of a Shāṅkhāri (shell-cutter) and

The Awakening of the Chadaka Post. Piercing the body with arrows, jumping over large bill-hooks, etc.

Songs and hymns in honour of Shiva.

¹ After the Post is "awakened," worship is offered to it on the embankment of the tank in which it remained immersed.

His cultivation.

cultivation of the land by him. This cultivation-song is also sung in the Gambhirā of Malda, and, as here, in that song also reference is made to the growth of paddy. A detailed account of this cultivation is to be found in *Shivāyana* and *Shivagītā*. As advised by his wife, Pārvatī, Shiva desired to take to cultivation,¹ but he needed lands for the purpose. Pārvatī then advised him to apply for them to Indra, the King of Gods. Accordingly Shiva went to the place of the latter and addressed him thus :—

"If you will grant me lands, I may take to cultivation and thus satisfy the wishes of Pārvatī."

Indra replied : "Being the landlord, how is it that you ask your servant for lands?"

Shiva said : "There are some difficulties about it, O Shakra [Indra]. I fear lest you should quarrel with me at the harvest time. It is not reasonable to rely on the words of one who is absorbed deeply in worldly affairs. If you grant me a lease, I may rest assured that no difficulties will arise in the future."

Indra asked Shiva to state the extent and location of the lands he wanted, and then :—

"Hara [Shiva] asked for the limitless fallow ground near the settlement of the Kochas, excluding lands already granted [to others] as settlements for the service of gods and the grazing of cattle, or as remuneration to priests."

Thereupon the son of Kashyapa (i.e. Indra) "granted to the god of gods a lease of Devottaraland [i.e. land endowed for the support of a god]".

And "Digamvara [lit. stark-naked, a name of Shiva], binding the lease with the cord attached to his damaru [a peculiar small drum] and blessing Indra [for

¹ Similar to the growing of paddy, as described in the *Shunya Purāṇa*.

his goodness] made for the place of Yama [God of Death]".

Why is Shiva going to call at Yama's? It is to borrow the services of his buffalo. This and his own bull are to be yoked together for ploughing the fields.

And Yama, "as soon as requested [lit. commanded], made over the buffalo to him".

Then Vishva-karmā (the chief engineer and mechanic of the gods), with a view to making the implements of agriculture, held up the trident of Shiva and said :—

"The implements of agriculture are : one pāshī, one ploughshare, two jalois, one spade, one sickle and one ukhun. Let us make the pāshī weighing five maunds,¹ the ploughshare eighty maunds, the two jalois together two maunds, the spade one maund, the sickle eight maunds and the ukhun eight maunds."

Then Shiva, stopping the holes in the bellows with his tiger-skin, set to work with it and the ghosts supplied charcoal to the furnace from burning places called funeral pyres. He held the trident with the help of a pair of tongs in his left hand, and knelt down beside the furnace with much ado. With the help of his hands and feet he worked the formidable bellows, from which continually went forth the sound of "detayyā".

When Shiva grew anxious how to secure seeds for the growth of paddy, "Kātyāyāni [Pārvatī] said : 'How is it, my lord, that you have nothing at all? There are plenty of seeds in the house of Kuvera [treasurer of Shiva]; go and get the quantities you require from there'."

The questions of getting a ploughman to till his fields for him, and also a pair of bulls, were settled thus by her :—

"We have in our own house the old bull, which is

¹ : md. = 80 lbs.

exceptionally strong. It may be yoked with the buffalo of Yama. There is the plough of Valâi [Valarâma, step-brother of Lord Shri-Kriṣṇa, noted as being the wielder of a plough] and there is Bhîma [the most powerful of the five brothers in the *Mahâbhârata*] who will do well as a ploughman. Where, then, are your difficulties?"

Then follows a detailed account of the various processes of cultivation.

When the preliminaries of cultivation were over and the time of harvest came, "Bhîma bowed to Vishwanâtha [lit. Lord of the Universe, a name of Shiva] and went to the fields, with a scythe weighing ten maunds in his hands. He rushed breathless, and in the course of two seconds only mowed the crops. The paddy thus obtained measured but two hâlas [a very small quantity]."

"Hearing that it measured only two hâlas, Shiva ordered it to be cast into fire."

Thereupon Bhîma applied fire to the heap of paddy "and blew it with his mouth". The paddy burnt through eternity, and it was from this that paddies of different colours were grown.

Even now the cultivation scene is enacted in connexion with the Gambhîrâ festivities.

Shiva visited the house of Himâlaya (father of Gaurî, wife of Shiva) in the guise of a seller of bracelets made of conch-shells, and helped Gaurî in putting on a pair.

"The ladies sat in the courtyard surrounding Mahâmâyâ [lit. the creative power of God, so called from the illusory nature of the world; hence a name of Bhagavati, or Durga] and Mâdhava [here meaning Shiva, although really a name of Kriṣṇa or Viṣṇu]. These two sat on beautiful seats facing each other, Pâr-

Bhagavati
puts on a
pair of conch-
shell
bracelets.

vatī with her face eastward and Hara with his westward."

To make the bracelets suit the wrists, the palms of the hands had to be sorely squeezed. At this "Menakā [mother of Pārvatī] said sorrowfully: 'Oh! how long will my tender girl be able to stand these squeezings?' She then admonishingly said: 'Rub your pair of bracelets to make the diameter longer. (This is not the first time that we see one put on a pair of bracelets of conch-shells.) By the time I have grown so old, I myself have put on ten or twelve pairs.' Mādhava replied: 'What shall I do, ma'am? You do not know how hard are the hands of your daughter. I know what trouble she has caused me. How can I help it, ma'am, when the hands are as stiff as stick?'"¹

This song in commemoration of Pārvatī's putting on a pair of bracelets of conch-shells is a holy one with married women, and many of them listen to it with rapture and devotion. Many such songs are sung in connexion with the Gājan of Shiva.

On the day of fast such diversions as Bantī-jhāmp, Kāntā-jhāmp, Pāt-bhāngā, etc., are held.

The Bantī-jhāmp.—The Sannyāsis get upon a high platform made of bamboo. Below this a number of iron weapons of the form of Bantis (Indian fish-knives) placed cross-wise along a line on a platform made of banana tree, are held up by a number of other Sannyāsis, a little in front of the first platform. Then from this first platform the Sannyāsis, one by one, jump down upon the weapons with extended arms. As soon as each falls down thus, he is covered with a piece of cloth and taken to the image of Shiva, where the

¹In Dharma's Gājan of West Bengal, this scene is enacted in connexion with the marriage festivities of Ādyā.

Gājane Brāhmana offers him a flower, already offered to Shiva, by way of conferring on him the benediction of the god.

The Kāntā-jhāmp.—The Sannyāsis take their stand on a raised platform with a bundle of the branches of a thorny tree fastened to their breasts. Below, a piece of canvas is held aloft in front of them and they jump down on it one after another. In some places, branches of the thorny tree are placed on the piece of canvas itself.

The Pāt-bhāṅgā.—This is not observed in all the centres. In this case the Sannyāsis take their stand on the bamboo-platform with some fruits tied in a corner of their cloths and throw them down among the crowd of spectators, many of whom try their best to catch some of these bundles before they reach the ground. If they succeed in doing this, with some object in their minds, they believe that object will be realized.

The Dkunā Podāna, or burning of resin.—This ceremony is performed in two ways. In the first, men and women fast the whole day and take their seats in wet clothes on one side of the temple of Shiva, with earthen cups called Sarā, free from black spots, on their heads, held with their two hands and also placed between their two knees. Pieces of wood are placed on these Sarās and fire applied to them. Then, when the Brāhmana throws some flowers and sprinkles water of the Ganges upon them, powdered resin is also thrown into the fire. Some go through this ceremony also with infants on their knees.

In the second method, two bamboo posts are planted on the ground and another piece of bamboo is tied to their heads. Below this a hole is dug on the ground and filled with fire. Then the Sannyāsis, one by one, tie their feet to the horizontal bar and seven times swing

their bodies headlong over the fire, into which is then thrown powdered resin.

Nīlāvati-pujā.—Women say on this occasion :—

"As the result of my placing lights in the temple of Nīla, I shall have access to heaven [after death]."

At dusk the women light up the temple of Shiva with lamps burning ghee. In the Bengali almanacs also it is recorded that on this day the goddess Nīlāvati should be worshipped. Next day

6. *Chadaka-pujā*

is performed with great éclat. In olden times on this occasion the place of Chadaka used to become a scene of stirring incident, and difficult performances such as the Vāṇafodā took place there. The Chadaka festivities have of late been prohibited by law.

On this day the marriage ceremony of Shiva is found to be represented in some places. This festivity also is performed about the end of the month of Chaitra, and is given with great pomp in Navadvīpa (Nadia), Sāntipur and some other places.¹

¹ In the *Chandī* of Mānik Datta, Shiva is married to Ādyā, and in *Dharmapujā-paddhati* Dharma is married to her. Ādyā is but another name of Ārya Tārā, the Buddhist goddess. Hinduization of mediæval Buddhist deities would thus be apparent.

CHAPTER V.

FOLK-FESTIVITIES IN NORTH BENGAL AND ORISSA.

SECTION I.—GAMBHÎRÂ.

The Gambhîrâ of the Vângâls.

THE general name for the low-class people of Varendra (Northern Bengal), such as the Kochas, the Polihâs,¹ etc., is Vângâl. The name might well be translated by the English word "rustic". The Vângâls offer worship to Shiva towards the close of the month of Chaitra (March-April), as others do. Their Gambhîrâs are absolutely free from the remotest influence of luxury. In many cases the temple itself is in a dilapidated condition, and the emblem of Shiva almost buried under earth; inside the house only such poor articles of worship as the chāmara (yak-tail used as a fly-brush), dried garlands of flowers, wooden masks of Kālî and other gods and goddesses, old earthen vessels and incense-pots make up the furniture. The courtyard is overgrown with grass and weeds. Only at the time of worship the floor is cleared and besmeared with cow-dung, and a part only of the courtyard is cleansed.

On the occasion of the Gambhîrâ festivities the Vângâls are actuated by sincere devotion and religious feelings. They have no priest to officiate for them—they themselves perform their own worship. Even the drum is played on by them. The chief Sannyâsi, or Guni, as he is otherwise called, plays the part of the priest.

¹ Descendants of Mongol invaders of North Bengal (tenth century) according to Mr. Chanda. *Vide* Banerji's *Pûlas of Bengal*.

The *jāgarāṇā* (i.e. passing sleepless nights) is observed with dance and song and other festivities. It is said that ghosts and spirits of the village and also of other adjacent villages do possess and serve them. They believe in the existence of supernatural beings and offer worship to them in every house. They do not feel much tempted by the thought of the life in heaven after death; they are heard to remark: "It is no good to be a *Kṛiṣṇa* or *Viṣṇu*. We want to be ghosts and goblins, that we may continue to enjoy the comforts of home." And actuated by this faith, they build little altars in their houses and besmear them with vermilion. They say that after the visible dissolution the material bodies or the materialized spirits of their deceased ancestors abide on in these altars. At the time of the *Gambhīrā* worship, these ghosts and spirits are worshipped in every house. According to them, ghosts of one village quarrel with those of another; and when a *Bhakta* is possessed by a village ghost his words are not true; but when he is possessed by one of a different village his predictions come out true.

In the *Gambhīrā* festivities of the *Vaṅgāls* the ghost worship is performed with much greater pomp than the *Shiva* worship. In connexion with this, the *Chhota Tāmāsa* is no doubt held like the *Bada Tāmāsa*, but even this not in the same manner as in the other *Gambhīrās*. When the "bhar" descends on the *Sannyāsi*, i.e. when he becomes possessed, then he performs very queer motions of the head, flounderings and contractions of the hands and feet, grimaces and dancings, and utters terrible shrieks. Upon this, the chief *Sannyāsi* understands that through the possessed man a ghost or the *Māhān Chāmunda Kālī* herself has appeared on the scene, and sings, in his or her honour and for purchasing his or her pleasure, songs calculated to

Their creed ;
worship of
ghosts.

"Bhar," or
Possession by
the Ghost;
the Mask-
dance and the
Cultivation
by *Shiva*.

avert evils (technically called *Shantipatha*) and offers flowers and sacred water of the Ganges. After this the dancers are made to dance separately, each taking his turn on hearing his special note struck out by the drum. These dances are wild and ecstatic (like those of Shiva) and are attended with furious shrieks and exclamations. From the possessed or chief *Sannyāsi* many will then get medicines for their diseases, and unfortunate women often find medicines wherewith to tame their indifferent husbands. The *jāgarana* night is wholly passed with such mask-dances, relieved now and then by musical performances and Shiva's hymns. The scene of the cultivation by Shiva is also enacted in the following way. A boy or a young *Sannyāsi* throws a quantity of paddy in the midst of a group of aged men, some of whom play the part of the bull in ploughing, some devour the seeds like birds, and others perform various other relevant parts.

The *Mashān*
Dance, the
Dance of the
Corpse.

On the third day, before sunrise, the *Mashān* (lit. a cemetery, hence its tutelary deity, the *Mashān Kālī*) dance takes place, and in the early morning of this day is held the Corpse Dance. On the previous day, or two or three days before, the *Hādi* (a scavenger, or a man of a very low order) fetches a corpse from some place, and "awakens" (i.e. instils life without the visible signs) it, after going through various rites and purifying it with incantations; and then places it in a tank, or ties it to the higher branches of a tree near it. At the time of the *Mashān* dance, he decorates this "awakened" corpse with wreaths and vermillion, ties a cord round its waist, and then with it enters the *Gambhīrā-mandapa*, uttering various incantations. This part of the festivities is extinct nowadays. Another peculiar ceremony is observed here, in "the descent of the *Pāntā* on the *Bhaktas*," i.e. when they become possessed by the tute-

lary deity of the village. The man who is thus possessed strives to strike terror into the hearts of the spectators by uttering terrible shrieks and making strange gestures.

SECTION II.—SÂHIYÂTRÂ.

The Sâhiyâtrâ is observed over the whole of Orissa, ^{The} to the great delight of the populace. ^{Sâhiyâtrâ.}

In the month of April spring adorns the almost dead trees with green foliage and lively blossoms, and the whole of Orissa seems to be rejuvenated with the round of merry-makings and festivities. The day of the full moon is the best time for the celebration of these festivities which generally cover three days, and are performed with dance, song, music, etc.

One cannot say positively what the real name of the presiding deity of the Sâhiyâtrâ festivities is. Even in Orissa there are differences of opinion on this point. All that can be said with any degree of precision is that either Shiva, Shakti or Dharma is the god. This difficulty is due to the fact that in the temple where the Sâhiyâtrâ is held there is no image of any god, but only a ghata (pitcher of water) as representative of the presiding deity. In many villages, however, the festivities are held before the image of a goddess possessing one of the many forms that Shakti assumed.

Music, song and dance form an integral part of these ^{The Sâhi-} festivities, and these are performed by the populace ^{yâtrâ} putting on masks of gods, goddesses and many lower ^{festivities.} animals.

As in the Gâjan and Gambhîrâ festivities of other places, in these also there is the practice of enlisting Bhaktas. They are the principal organizers of these festivities, and they also observe the custom of Vâna-fodâ (hook-piercing), the salutation service, etc.

Among the several forms of dancing may be mentioned the Chait Ghodâ (lit. the horse that is ridden in the month of Chaitra, i.e. March-April). The Bhaktas decorate their bodies with vermillion and then, standing on two sticks (or hobby-horse), dance with various gestures. This Chait Ghodâ dance can also be performed in a different way. The dancer hides himself inside a horse made of bamboo rods and covered with cloth, and makes the horse dance. Besides this, mask-dances of a he-sparrow and a she-sparrow (performed by washer-men), Vudâ Vudî (an old man and his old wife), Râvaṇa, Hanumân, Kâlî, etc., are also performed.

CHAPTER VI.

POPULAR BUDDHISM IN HINDU BENGAL.¹

The Gājan of Dharma.

THE Gājan festivities of Dharma are observed in Western Bengal. Although reputed to be a very ancient treatise regarding the method of the worship of Dharma, the *Skunya Purāṇa* is not the original treatise on the subject. It is simply a partial collection of the songs and hymns embodied in the *Dharmapujā*, the original code of rules and regulations concerning this worship being quite different from this. The treatise on the worship of Dharma found at Vijayapur in Burdwan contains a fairly comprehensive account of the worship and festivities that are held in connexion with the Gājan of Dharma. The method of offering worship and holding festivities, as described in this work, is known as the Lāuseni method. From this *Dharmapujā* code, explained to us by experts on the subject, we reproduce the following account of the methods in which the worship and festivities in connexion with the Gājan of Dharma are held.

The Chief or Presiding God in the Gājan of Dharma.

Dharma, or Dharma Niranjana, as he is otherwise called, is the presiding deity of these festivities. He

¹ See Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature* as well as H. P. Sāstri's contributions (J.A.S.B., 1894, 1895), and Introduction to Vasu's *Modern Buddhism*.

is the Ādi (Primitive) Buddha, who is not infrequently to be found identified with some of the Vedic and Purāṇic gods and goddesses. In some places, however, he is said to be different from and begotten of Ādi Buddha.

Lord Dharma.

According to the *Dharma-gītā*¹ of Mahādeva Dās, Dharma is like the son of Ādi Buddha. The Dharma worshippers of West Bengal sing their hymn in honour of the creative gods.

"Who is there in these three worlds [heaven, earth and the nether regions] that knows thee, who art Buddha the protector of the meek and the poor?

"Thou hast no beginning or end, O Lord, and, having travelled over the whole universe, no one has ever seen thy hands or feet or body.

"Thou hast neither form nor attributes. Who is there that has ever seen through or gauged thy illusive powers?"

Dharma has been shown as sitting with his face towards Ādi Buddha. Then it is said :—

"O! how many crores² of ages did elapse in this state! [i.e. sitting on this seat with his face towards Ādi Buddha]. Hear me, I am going to tell you how Dharma was born thereafter. After Mahāprabhu [Lord of Lords] had destroyed the sins one by one, the glorious face of Dharma emanated from him" (*Dharma-gītā*).

We have it here that Mahāprabhu Ādi Buddha revealed the glorious face of Dharma. Now, how did this Mahāprabhu look himself? And we are told :—

"Whose graceful body is made of Shunya, and who

¹ *Mayurbhanj Archaeological Survey*, by Nagendranāth Vasu, Introd.

² 10 millions = 1 crore.

is without any appetite or desire; who has no form and who is absolutely indescribable and undefinable."

His form is "Shunya". In the *Dharmapujā-paddhati* Dharma has been described in the eight-stanza hymn composed by Chintāmani thus:—

"I make my obeisance to the spotless [Niranjana] Dharma, who is subtle, made up of the Shunya and is himself the Shunya¹ [the void], who is invisible [even] to the gods, who is above attributes, who is approachable [only] through meditation, and who is eternal."

Throughout the whole of West Bengal, "Dharma Niranjana" is a compound name for one and the same god; but *Dharma-gītā* has shown Niranjana as separate from Dharma. Thus we have:—

Dharma's
Second Form,
as Niranjana.

"Yuga was greatly afraid to undertake the task of creating the world, and accordingly produced out of his body a son, named Niranjana, and said to him: 'Go you, immediately, Niranjana, and come back to me after you have created the world'. Having thus been directed by his father, Niranjana [obediently] went away, but was highly afraid to create the world."

In the above extract the son of Ādi Buddha has been described as Niranjana.

*The Presiding Goddess in the Gājan of Dharma,
Goddess Ādyā.²*

In the Gājan, goddess Ādyā receives worship with Dharma Niranjana. She sprang out of the body of Dharma, as we have in the *Mangala Chandī* of Mānik Datta.

¹ This doctrine, so popular in mediæval Buddhism, can be traced back to the first century A.D. (J.R.A.S., London, 1914—Vidhusekhara Sāstri's communication).

² Accounts of Ādyā are also to be found in *Shunya Purāna* and kindred works.

"Begotten of his smile, Ādyā fell down on the ground. When she stood up, people beheld her with admiration."

In the *Dharma-gītā* of Mahādeva Dās of Orissa, it is said that a female figure sprang into existence from the sweat of Dharma's brow, engaged in the thought of creation.

"Having thus reflected within himself, Dharma sat down in extreme anxiety and trouble of mind, and perspiration flowed in streams from his body. He then wiped his forehead with his hand and shook off the drops of perspiration upon the ground, and immediately up sprang from there a female figure."

Two Different Forms of the Gājan.

There are two different forms of the Gājan, viz. *vārṣika* (annual) and *Āvāla*.

(a) *The Annual Gājan*.—On the third day of the light half of the month of Vaishākha (April-May), the installation of the ghata takes place and the festivities are brought to a close on the day of the full moon. This is observed in accordance with the injunctions of Rāmāi Pandit and the *Hākanda Purāna*.

(b) *The Āvāla Gājan*.—This can be held in any month of the year, and is held when, with a view to achieve success in an undertaking, the god Dharma is sought to be propitiated. The phontā of *niyama* (mark put on the forehead in recognition of a vow) is put on on a Friday.

The Daily Ceremony of Graha-bharana.

The Dharmapujā covers twelve days from the construction of the Dehārā (altar) and the installation of

the ghata to the offering of the final worship. The worship in connexion with which the chief festivities are held is, however, over in four days. The list of the ceremonies that have to be observed each day is called *Graha-bharaṇa* by the Dharma priests.

The following is an extract from the treatise *Dharmapujā-paddhati*:—

“The list of ceremonies, styled *Graha-bharaṇa*, was prepared by Rāmāi Pandit, the chief priest of Dharma. Remembering the name of Dharma along with those of Gaṇapati [lit. lord of ghosts and goblins—a name of Gaṇeśha, the conferrer of success] and Shri Kāmīnya, and offering worship, attended with songs, music, etc., to the twelve Ādityas [sun-gods], I am going through the ceremonies of Kunda-sevā [worshipping a pit of sacrificial fire], Hindolana [singing a peculiar air of the Hindu music, named Hindola], the five kinds of piercing, such as piercing the tongue, mana-graha, etc., adoption of the life of a Sannyāsi, the offering of goats as sacrifice, the reading of the *Chandikā*, the offering of clarified butter, etc., into the sacred fire, attended with proper incantations; griha-darshana [looking inside a house to protect it from evil influences]; and the worship of the sun-god and other deities with the help of my spiritual preceptor and wise men versed in religious practices, with a view to absolve myself from the sin of uncleanness due to the births and deaths of kinsmen. Thus pleasing my preceptor and the wise men, I hope to be able to realize my object. . . .”

The Dharma festivities are held at the present day after the *Lāu-senī*² custom, and the priests of the

¹ Reading of the *Chandikā* does not mean here the reading of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Chandī*, but of the songs and hymns relating to the birth, marriage, etc., of the goddess Ādyā.

² See p. 38.

Dharma-cult in Bengal also follow this custom in their worship, although the mantras (incantations) and hymns, etc., are those that were composed by Rāmāi Pandit. The system of worship advocated in the *Hākanda Purāna* has long become a dead letter. Although Rāmāi Pandit has followed this authority in laying down most of his injunctions, yet by scholars of the Dharma cult he is also reputed to have instituted the practice of drawing the Dharmapādukā (explained below).

The Several Parts of the Worship.

(1) Offering worship to the Sun-god and Samkalpa (i.e. a formal avowal of the object with which the worship is offered); (2) selection of the place of festivities; (3) construction of the Dehārā (altar or temple); (4) drawing the Dharmapādukā (i.e. footprints of Dharma); (5) placing of Āmina and Kāmīnya; (6) installation of and offering worship to the several attendants of Dharma; (7) abstinence from fish and meat, partaking of food consisting of ghee and boiled rice, or of food consisting of fruits only, and fasting; (8) the piercing ceremonies; (9) the marriage of Ādyā; (10) the breaking down of the Dehārā; and (11) dance, song and music.

The Daily Worship.

The First Part.—This consists of plucking flowers, making paste of sandalwood, phontā shuddhi (purifying the mark), tikā-dāna (putting a sacred mark), purifying waters, and purifying the seat.

The Second Part.—The ceremonies in connexion with the awaking of Dharma from sleep, bathing, worship, manui (or offering of cooked rice, etc., as food to a deity), Dharma's retirement to rest.

The Ceremonies of the Last Three Days.

There are some additional rules for regulating the worship of the thirteenth, the fourteenth and the fifteenth days of the bright half of the month. In the morning of each of the three days is held a peculiar festivity known as *Āmani Chiyāna*. Besides this, it is also enjoined that the four doors of the temple should be kept especially neat and clean on these days, and the festivities of rousing Dharma from sleep, etc., should be held and worship offered to the deity. The ceremonies of *Jihvā Vāṇa* (piercing the tongue with a long needle), of *Kapāla Vāṇa* (piercing the forehead with the same instrument), of *Shālebhaba* (lying down on the ends of pointed needles), etc., and of the *Pashchima Udaya* (lit. rising in the West) are also observed on these occasions.

Last Day.—Marriage of Ādyā. This is the concluding festivity and is a beautiful one. It is composed of several parts, such as *Kāmīnya*, *Manui*, etc. Next are observed the ceremonies of Crossing the *Vaitaraṇi*, and of offering water to the manes of Rāma, called *Rāma tarpaṇa*; and these are followed by the extremely delightful and historically interesting ceremony of *Dehārā-bhanga* (pulling down the *Dehārā*).

The incantations with which this *Dehārā-bhanga* is observed are divided into two parts, known as *Chhota Jānāni* (lesser) and *Bada (greater) Jānāni* (lit. the act of intimating, or proclamation).

The following extract is made from *Chhota Jānāni*, as described in *Dharmapūjā-paddhati*.—

“The *Khonakāra* is offering his prayers to the deity sitting with his face towards the West.

“Some worship *Alla* (God in Islam), some *Ali*, and others worship *Māmudā Sain* (Mohammed, the Prophet of Alla).

"The crow is asking and Dharma is considering where Khodâ (God in Islam) was first born.

"They start for that place with Mother Mangala-Chandi.

"Goddess Kâlikâ went there and settled in the house of Châkandâ. Coming forward, Vivi [a common designation of married Mohammedan women] Visadâ was crushing to powder long pepper, etc. [God] Jagannâtha came there and sat down to see that nothing went wrong. He stole a quantity of spirituous liquor, and his hands were [consequently] cut off, etc."

The Images of Dharma and His Retinue.

God Dharma had no form. To represent him, however, the image of a tortoise is placed inside a small stone chariot amidst a very small heap of stones. On the occasion of the worship of Dharma, Dharma-pada (i.e. footprints of Dharma) is drawn with sandal paste on the image of this tortoise. The Dharma-pâdukâ (sandals of Dharma) is a modern form of this Dharma-pada.

Dharma is worshipped under various names, such as Dharma Râja, Kâlû Râya, Bânkudâ Râya, Vudâ Râya, Kâlâchânda, Vriddhinâga, Khelârâma, Âdiyârâja, Swarupa-nârâyana, etc.

Gods and Goddesses worshipped with Dharma.—The Bhairavas (eight in number), Âvarṇa, Dâmarâ Shâin, Kâmadeva, Hanumân, Ulluka, Ksetrapâla, Mâtanga, Nilajihva, Ugradanta, Âmani, goddess Manasâ (mother of serpents), Mani, Bhâgini and Vâsuki (king of serpents).

The Meditation.

"Salutation to Dharma—salutation to Dharmarâja the formless, who has neither beginning, middle, nor

end ; who has neither hands nor feet, neither body nor voice, neither shape nor form ; who is above fears and death and is subject neither to birth nor to decay ; who is realizable through meditation only by Yogindra (i.e. Shiva) and dwells inside all creatures, and who is above all objects and desires, who is spotless (Niranjana), who confers boons on immortals and protects us, and whose form is the Void."—*Dharmapujā-paddhati*.

The Salutation-Formula.

"I make my obeisance to Dharma, named also Kālāchānda, etc., who is spotless, formless, of the form of the Void, and is the great god. Be pleased, O God of Gods, to save me !"

Hymn to Dharma.¹

"Humbly do I offer this hymn to thee, after bowing low by rolling myself on the ground.

"Who is there in these three worlds that can know thee, who art Buddha, the protector of the meek and the poor ?

"Travelling over the whole world, no one has ever found, O Formless Lord, thy beginning or end, thy hands or feet.

"Thou hast neither form nor figure, and thou art above all attributes. Who is there that can ever see through or gauge thy illusive powers ?

"Thou art not subject to birth, decrepitude or death, and thou art the great object of meditation of the Yogis.

"Salutation to Dharma, who is Shunya and whose form is Shunya."

¹ Found in the possession of a Dharma priest.

A Hymn in Eight Stanzas¹ to Niranjana.

"Salutation to that Niranjana who is both Shiva and Brahmā, who is confined to no particular place [i.e. who is omnipresent], who is above the sense of honour and dishonour, who has no feet, who is subtle, colourless and formless and absolutely undefinable, who is the observed of all observers and the essence of contentment, etc."—*Dharmapujā-paddhati*.

¹ *Astakas* (poems consisting of eight stanzas).

CHAPTER VII.

PHYSICAL AUSTERITIES PRACTISED BY THE PEOPLE.

SECTION I.—THE VÂNAFODÂ.

BOTH in Gambhîrâ and Gâjan the Sannyâsi perform a ceremony under the name of the Vâna¹fodâ. The word Vâna (lit. an arrow) does not mean here the dart or arrow that goes off from the bow. Here it is quite a different thing, both in shape and use.

Of the several Vânas said to be in use in the Gâjan, the following three kinds are most generally noticed: (1) the Kapâla Vâna; (2) the Trishula (trident) or Agni (fire) Vâna, also called Pârshwa (side) or Pâsha Vâna, and (3) the Jihvâ (tongue) or Sarpa (snake) Vâna.

(1) *The Kapâla (forehead) Vâna*.—It is short, being only a cubit in length; like the needle pointed at one end and blunt at the other, and is made of iron. To the sharp end is attached a small pipe with an open iron lamp on it. The different forms of Vânas.

How it is used.—The name Kapâla Vâna is due to the fact that it is stuck into the kapâla, or forehead. This is done at night. The Sannyâsi sits calm and still before the idol, and the blacksmith forces the Vâna below his skin between the eyebrows in such a way that it may stick out about two inches from the forehead. Then the face of the Sannyâsi is covered with a piece of new banana leaf, and the ends of it are drawn together

and tied to the outer end of the Vāṇa. Thereafter a quantity of ghee (clarified butter) and a wick are put on the iron lamp, which with the detached pipe is then attached to the end of the Vāṇa, into the outermost extremity of which a Javā (china rose) flower is also inserted. Another Sannyāsi then comes forward and lights the lamp attached to the Vāṇa.

(2) *The Trishula or Agni Vāṇa*.—Made of iron and of the same shape as the Kapāla Vāṇa, only half a cubit longer. It has, however, no separate pipe or lamp attached to it. When two such Vāṇas are joined together in a straight line, their joined ends are linked together by a device like a trident. Hence the name, Trishula (trident) Vāṇa.

How it is used.—This ceremony is performed in the course of a procession that is formed in some places in the day and in others at night. The Vāṇas are stuck into the skin of the sides below the arms, the pointed outer extremities sticking out, making an angle before the breast of the performer. These ends are then joined together by means of a pipe to which the trident is attached. Then the performer raises the Vāṇas a little with his hands, but in such a way that the linked ends may not be detached. Now a piece of cloth is steeped in a quantity of ghee and wrapped round the trident and fire is set to it. The Sannyāsi now begins to dance, and powdered resin is thrown now and then into the flame.

(3) *The Jihvā or Snake Vāṇa*.—Made of iron, as thick as the thumb, and six to nine cubits long. On the Shāle-bhara day of the Gājan festival, the Jihvā-Vāṇafodā is exhibited. One end of this Vāṇa is like the hood of a serpent, the other end is pointed, but the extremity is blunt. The tongue is pierced with it.

How it is used.—The Jihvā is not inserted in the

same way as the other Vāṇas. The tongue is first softened by rubbing it with ghee. Then the lower side of it is turned up by the blacksmith, and with a pointed iron nail known as Vela-kāntā (lit. a thorn of the marmelos tree) a side of this lower part is pierced. Thereafter, through the hole thus made, the pointed end of the Jihvā Vāṇa is thrust till its middle portion is well inside the mouth. The ends of the Vāṇa have to be equally poised. The hooded one is besmeared with vermilion, and a fruit of some kind is stuck into it. The Sannyāsi now holds either end of the Vāṇa with his hands and begins to dance, amidst flourishes of music. Many others repeat this feat. Sometimes they pass the Vāṇa through the tongue before the very eyes of the spectators, and dance, and are rewarded with money, clothes and ornaments.

Before use the Vāṇas have to be rubbed and cleansed, so that not a trace of rust is left on them. Then they are besmeared with ghee and worship is offered to them. The blacksmith now bathes, takes as blessing some flowers from those offered to the god, and sets about his task. The Vela-kāntā he brings from home with him. It has also to be worshipped and besmeared with ghee. That part of the body which has to be pierced has also to be rubbed with ghee. Then the blacksmith besmears this part and his own fingers with ashes of dried cow-dung (used as fuel) and thrusts the Vāṇa. When it is drawn out, he applies a quantity of cotton soaked in ghee to the affected part and holds it for some time between his fingers. When the Vāṇa is pulled out of the tongue, the mouth is filled with ghee, mixed in some places with powdered sesamum. The Sannyāsi, whose tongue is thus pierced, is not allowed to talk with anybody for one whole day. Different parts of the tongue are pierced in different years.

General
remarks.

*Piercing the Back with the Vâṇa.*Pristha
Vâṇafodâ.

This ceremony was observed at the time of the Chadaka. In former times the back was pierced with one or two iron Vâṇas shaped like fishing-hooks. Cords were then passed through the outer ends of these hooks, and the Sannyâsi, thus suspended, enjoyed swings on the Chadaka post.

The thick skin in the centre of the back, and on either side of the backbone, was pulled out, leaving the spinal cord alone, and the weapon named Vela-kântâ was made to run through it, and then through the hole thus made the hook was thrust. The skin is made ready for this operation by being rubbed with ghee and ashes of dried cow-dung.

SECTION II.—HISTORY OF THE PRACTICE OF
VÂṆAFODÂ.The Mahâ-
bhârata and
Harivamsha.

In the *Mahâbhârata* we find that Bhîṣma lay for a considerable time on a bed of arrows before his death. This is not what is meant by Vâṇafodâ ; still, it may be taken to have furnished the original idea of this practice.

In *Harivamsha* there is the legend of King Vâṇa, who went, bathed in blood, with arrows stuck in his body, to the place of Shiva and danced before him.

In Dharma
Samhitâ.

On the affair of secret love between Vâṇa's daughter Uṣâ and Shri Kriṣṇa's son Aniruddha, a terrible war took place between the aggrieved fathers, in which King Vâṇa of Shonitapura lost his arms, and blood trickled down his whole body, being wounded with darts. In this state he approached Shiva and danced before him, till the god was pleased to make him hale and hearty and immortal, and also to direct at the request of Vâṇa that any sincere and earnest votary who would thus dance before him in future would be blessed with sons.

It was this legend of Vāṇa, in *Dharma Samhitā*,^{From the legend of King Vāṇa originated the practice of Vāṇafodā.} more particularly the belief that Shiva had been pleased to direct that any sincere and earnest votary who would fast and thus dance before him would be blessed with issue, that gave rise to the practice of Vāṇafodā. As a means of purchasing the favour of Shiva, the Sannyāsis allow their bodies to be thus pierced, and this is why they thus dance before his image. Apparently the name of Vāṇafodā was given to the practice after King Vāṇa, who was its originator. In the Gājan blood has to be spilt in one way or other; and this is known as Vāṇafodā.

In the *Samhitās* we find that provision has been made for worshipping Vāṇas in the course of the worship that is offered to Shiva.^{The Samhitās and the worship of Vāṇas.} Thus it is laid down: "While worshipping Shiva, worship should also be offered to the glorious trident in the north-east, the thunderbolt in the east, the axe in the south-east, the arrow in the south, the sword in the south-west, the noose in the west, the driving-hook (for elephants) in the north-west, and the bow (or the trident) in the north".

The story of Harishchandra's worshipping Dharma,^{The Shunya Purāṇa of Rāmāi.} as told by Rāmāi, reminds one of the legend of Vāṇa. The following lines are quoted from his *Shunya Purāṇa*:—

"A saw was applied to the head of Rāma, but it could not make even the faintest impression, as the Master was with him" ("Yama Purāṇa," 10).

"There stood Chandra, the prefect of police, with the sword of Chandra Hāsa in his hand" ("Message brought by the Messenger of Yama," 4).

"Suryya, the prefect of police, stood with the weapons of Sena and Dakvusa" (*ibid.*, 10).

"Garuda, the prefect of police, stood up with the

weapons of Jhāti [broomstick?] and Jhagadā" (*ibid.*, 10).

"Ulluka, the prefect of police, stood up with the Jivanāsa [life-destroying] Chuda in his hand" (*ibid.*, 16).

Dharmapuja-
paddhati.

The treatise *Dharmapuja-paddhati* (on the system of worshipping Dharma) is said to have been composed by Rāmāi Pandit. The practice of Vāṇafodā has been recognized by him. In the chapter of "Graha-bharana" we are told of the processes of Kunda-sevā, Hindolana, Jihvā-vedana and Pancha-vedana.

Vāṇafodā in
modern
times.

The performance of Vāṇafodā is even now exhibited in the Gājan and the Gambhīrā festivities. The piercing of the tongue, and also of the back, on the occasion of the Chadaka festival, are not, however, included in the programme of our days; only feats with small Kapāla Vāṇas and Trishula Vāṇas are performed. The body is nowadays pierced in many places with the thorns of the marmelos tree, the outer ends of these being decorated with china roses. This seems to be a refined edition of Vāṇafodā.

Training in
militarism.

The Vāṇafodā is an heroic practice. In the modern Gambhīrā and Gājan festivities the Bhaktas dance with scimitars, spears, etc. The sect of Kutichaka followers of Shiva still wield the spade and the scimitar as their badges. The Nāgā (lit. naked) Sannyāsis of the Shaiva cult also use the spade and the scimitar.

To encourage the development of chivalrous ideas in society, the Vāṇafodā was introduced and cultivated probably as a semi-military feat. The class of men from whom these Sannyāsis were recruited furnished the Hindu Zamindars (landlords) of yore with their infantry; and it was they who were occasionally found to commit dacoities in the land.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOLK-DANCES IN RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS.

SECTION I.—THE MASK (MUKHÂ).

MASKS are made and used to represent Kâlikâ (i.e. Masks made to represent Gods or Ghosts. Kâli), Châmundâ (another name of Chandî), Narasimha (lit. man-lion : this name was applied to that incarnation of God in which he killed the demon Hiranyakashipu, after assuming a body, the upper half of which was like that of a lion and the nether half human), Vâsuli, Râma and Lakṣmaṇa, Hanumân, an old man and his old consort, Shiva, and others. Mask-dances also representing ghosts and goblins, or Kârtika (War-God), a lame man, or the Châli (the background of an image), are seen to take place. The mask is made of wood or earth; in olden days, however, the former alone was exclusively used. Among these, again, those made of the neem wood (a tree the bark and leaves of which are extremely bitter to the taste, *azadirachta indica*) were given the first place.

All carpenters cannot carve these masks, for they have to be made in accordance with the descriptions of the gods and goddesses whom they are made to represent. The rules are laid down in the treatises on arts and crafts called *Shilpa-Shâstras*. After the carpenters have done, the patuâ, i.e. the painter, applies his brush to them, and thus makes them ready for use. Besides these, earthen masks, variously coloured, are also offered for sale by expert potters. Head-gears for these wooden

and earthen masks are made by *mālākaras*, i.e. makers of artificial flowers and garlands.

Before the Bhakta puts on a new mask of wood, he will place it before the priest in the Gambhirā for its *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* (the religious rite that is supposed to bring life into an image). Those who have masks in their possession have to worship them duly on the Vijayā-dashamī day (i.e. the fourth day of the Durgā-pujā, held generally in October), although this practice has for some time been fast dying out. Many old masks are seen hung in the Gambhirā house. People believe that some of these masks are *jāgrata* (lit. awake, hence endued with life and able to smile or frown) and that the tutelary deities of some are extremely wrathful. It is reported that some mask-dancers somehow or other incurred the displeasure of the gods or goddesses they meant to represent and in consequence lost their lives. Those who in olden times danced with the masks of deities, especially of Kālī, Chāmundā, Nara-simha and Vāsulī, took special care to do no such thing as might bring down on them the displeasure of their gods. Before they put on these masks for dancing, they gave up the use of oil and the eating of fish and meat, tried to make their hearts clean of all impious thoughts and ideas, and dressed and decorated themselves with pure clothes and ornaments.

The art of
putting on the
Mask.

Near the upper extremity of the mask and on its inner side, just above the forehead of the wearer, there is one hole, and behind its ears there are two others, through which strings or cords are passed and the mask made fast to the face. A piece of cloth is wrapped over the head, covering the ears, in the manner of a turban, to protect the face from being scratched by friction with the mask.

SECTION II.—THE DANCE.

The horse of the horse-dance is made of a bamboo frame overlaid with paper. On its back, at the place where the saddle is put, there is a large hole. The rider thrusts himself up to the waist into this hole, places across his shoulders the cords that are tied to the two upper sides of the hobby-horse and then commences his dancing. The peacock-dance of Kārtika is similarly performed. The bear-dance is also occasionally met with. In this case the dancer puts on the mask of a bear and has his whole body covered with hair made of dark-coloured jute or hemp fibres, and is then made by another to dance in the manner of a bear. Like the image of Durgā, its background (Chāli) is also nicely decorated. The selected Bhakta fastens it to the front-side of his waist, and, seating little children on it, causes them to dance with his two hands from behind. In the dance of the Kālī mask, the dancer is occasionally seen to have four hands. All these, however, are of wood, the dancer's own being tied together behind his back. The dancer in the Chāmundā mask-dance wields in one hand a kharpara (the upper part of the human skull) to receive the blood of her victims and in the other a pigeon and such other things. In the Hanumān mask-dance, it is the chief votary that plays this part. He puts on the mask of, and dresses himself like, Hanumān, the great monkey-general, and then exhibits the crossing of the sea and the burning down of Lamkā (these were among the most important feats performed by Hanumān as described in the *Rāmāyana*). The dance of Shiva-Pārvatī is performed in a gentle manner. Under her armpit and encircled by her left hand, Pārvatī wields a pitcher filled with water, and over its mouth are placed some fresh mango-twigs (*mangifera indica*). In her

The Horse
Dance; the
Kālī Mask
Dance;
the Old Man
and his Old
Wife.

right hand she holds a full-blown lotus. The dance of Vudā-Vudi (old man and his old consort) has a comic element in it.

The Nara-
simha Dance.

Several dances do not require any particular observation on them. The Narasimha dance and its mask cannot however be passed over without remark. We have seen that the dance in the Gambhīrā Mandapa is performed solely by representatives of Shiva, Shakti (Pārvati) and their ghost and goblin retinue. This has been the practice from time immemorial and is also in keeping with the injunctions in the *Purāṇas* on the point. There is no reason anywhere for the introduction of the Narasimha dance into these festivities, Narasimha being another name of Viṣṇu and thus popularly quite different from Shiva. The reason for this introduction may be found in the following. Among the several forms that Chandi is said to have assumed, we find one described as that of Narasimhi. As she is popularly regarded as the wife of Shiva, it may be that the devotees felt inclined also to introduce her before her Lord in the Gambhīrā; and in course of time her name came to be shorn of the final *ī*, sign of the feminine, the dance thus coming to be known as the Narasimha dance.

We reproduce below the Dhyāna (set form of meditation) and the praṇāma (set form of salutation) of the goddess Narasimhi.

Meditation on Narasimhi.

“Om [symbol of the Hindu triad, being a contracted but joint name for Brahmā, the God of Creation, Viṣṇu, the God of Protection, and Maheshwara, the God of Destruction. Generally it introduces meditation and salutation hymns], [the object of my meditation is] dressed like a goddess, [is] of a very powerful build [or it may mean, *forcibly brought out*, referring to the

crystal column from inside which she rushed out when the demon Hiranya-kashipu kicked against it], [is] decorated with various ornaments, [is] engaged in rending the breast of Kashipu [i.e. Hiranya-kashipu, who disbelieved her existence, and, in support of his contention, said that if she was omnipresent she must be in yonder crystal column. Then he kicked at it, and, lo and behold: there stood before him the awful goddess as described above] and known as Narasimhî."

Salutation to Narasimhî.

"Om, I bow to the goddess who has assumed the form of Narasimha and humbled the pride of giants and demons, is the bestower of good, is of a glorious hue, is eternal and is called Narasimhî."

From this it seems that the dance should be named after Narasimhî instead of Narasimha.

CHAPTER IX.

SOCIALIZATION AND SECULARIZATION OF HINDU LIFE.

THE cheapest and most superficial view of Hindu civilization is that it is absolutely non-secular and ultra-spiritual. An excessive dose of pessimistic religiosity and an utter disregard of material interests are glibly talked of as the characteristic features of the Hindus. This interpretation of Hindu temperament is, however, not at all borne out by facts of history. It is strange that the Hindus should have been regarded so long as a purely non-political and non-economic or even a pre-political and pre-economic race in spite of the thousand and one evidences of a rich secular and material life furnished by architectural, sculptural, numismatic and literary records. It is unfortunate that sufficient attention has not been drawn to the study of palaces, temples, forts, irrigation works, tanks, roads, etc., that testify to the engineering skill of the Indians in ancient and mediæval times ; for that alone is sufficient to dispel the erroneous theory about the genius of the civilization that has grown on Indian soil. Or, again, the idea that one gets from a study of the *Nīti-Shāstras*, *Shilpa-Shāstras*, *Vāstu-Shāstras*, *Kāma-Shāstras*, and other treatises on polity, warfare, town-planning, administrative machinery and financial management, arts and crafts, sex, hygiene, sanitation, eugenics, etc., is sure to convince the most critical student of history that the Hindus had their *forte* not only in transcen-

dental and metaphysical speculations, but also in the management of the affairs of this earthly earth, the administration of secular interests and the supply of the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life.

It is the object of this chapter to give a historical account of one or two entertainments and amusements that are prominent features of Hindu social existence and make life in India thoroughly communal and collective as opposed to merely individualistic and exclusive. The evidences are certainly not exhaustive, but will, at any rate, indicate the great zest that the Hindus have ever felt in enjoying secular life and making it sweet, socialized and comfortable, and undoubtedly prove that pessimism is not the stuff out of which the Indian mind is made.

The subject is being treated under three heads : processions, musical performances, and social gatherings. It would be interesting to note that these features of modern life have each a long history behind them, and that as in many other things, India is the hoary birth-place of various social conventions and institutions. So that Indian literature and history require to be studied more "intensively" and elaborately by moderns not solely in the interest of comparative mythology and philology, but also of Comparative Social Art, i.e. the comparative study of social festivities and enjoyments, pastimes, merry-makings and at-homes. In fact the scientific study of social man has to be centred more and more on India.

SECTION I.—PROCESSIONS.

By "processions" we mean the train of persons that proceeds through a town or village, as the case may be, on the occasion of a festival with flourishes of music, flags and buntings, elephants and horses, etc.

The Vedic Age.—Processions do not seem to have been common in the Vedic age. We do, however, hear of a procession that was formed in connexion with the ceremony of Avabhṛitha bath winding up a sacrificial performance.

The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.—Processions are mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In connexion with the installation of kings, marriages, etc., these were formed at Ayodhyā. In the *Mahābhārata* also we come across processions in many places. Very often the kings made arrangements for these to signalize their sacrifices, marriages, and conquests. An account is given of a huge procession that was formed in connexion with the bath that concluded the celebrated Ashwamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. We are also told of another, and a very good one, that was formed on the occasion of the worship of Brahmā.

The Harivamsha.—A procession is said to have marched out on the occasion of the festivities that Shri Kṛṣṇa held at the town of Dwārāvātī. Another was formed when he and others, bound for the shrine of Pindāraka, went to the shores of the sea, stepped into a vessel decorated with flags and streamers waiting for the purpose, finished their ablutions and took their meals there.

The Bhāgavata.—In the *Bhāgavata* processions are said to have been generally formed in connexion with marriages, etc. We are also told of one that was formed on a small scale in the house of Nanda on the occasion of the nativity of Shri Kṛṣṇa.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa.—A procession marched out on the occasion of the Bow sacrifice performed by King Kamsa. On festive occasions also these are said to have been formed.

Śhiva Purāṇa.—There is scope for processions in

connexion with the installation of the image and worship of Shiva. In the *Skanda* and *Padma Purāṇas* accounts are given of the Skandagovinda festival and a procession that was started in connexion with this.

Dharma, Jñāna, Sanatkumāra and Vāyavīa Samhitās.—On the occasion of the installation of the image of Shiva and the festivities that were held in his honour, the passing of sleepless nights and the starting of processions are recorded. It is also said that a procession marched out with the image of Shiva on the occasion of the Flowery Car festival and the swinging ceremony. Provisions have also been made for holding processions on the occasion of the great festival of Shiva to be held in the month of Phālgoon (February-March), of the swinging festival to be held in the month of Chaitra (March-April), and of the Puṣpa-mahālayā (Flowery Temple) to be held in Vaishākha (April-May) next.

The Purāṇas of the Jāinas.—In the *Padma Purāṇa* it is said that on the occasion of the natal festivities of Rīṣabha¹ Deva, the Hindu gods came down, showered flowers and released his father from confinement. We are further told that a procession marched out on the occasion, making gifts of money, etc., while passing. On the ninth day of the dark half of the month of Chaitra the birthday festivities of the Ādi (First) Jina Rīṣabha are held. Processions were also formed in connexion with the festivities that were held to celebrate the births and attainment of emancipation of the Jaina Tirthamkaras.

We learn from *Aṛiṣṭanemi Purāṇa* that a procession was started in connexion with the Jaina spring festival celebrated by King Sumukha. It is also found that a procession accompanied him when Vāsudeva went with

¹ See Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism* (Oxford, 1915), pp. 22, 45, 51, etc.

Gandharva Sena to the place of the Phalgun festivities with a view to rendering his homage to Pārshwanātha.

We are told in the *Muni Svratā Purāṇa* that on a certain occasion Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with some ladies celebrated the spring festival in the garden of Chitrakuta at Benares. An account is to be found also of a procession that was formed on the occasion. Then again we come across the description of two other processions that were formed in connexion with the imposing ceremonies of the Jina worship performed on the 2nd day of the light half of the month of Kārtika (October-November) and also with the worship of Jina Deva by Rāma.

Buddhist books.—In the various Buddhist works we become acquainted with the pomp and grandeur with which processions were formed and marched out.

Shākyasimha (Buddha) was born on a full-moon day in the forest of Lumvini. Festivities were held in the town for a week from the birthday. When on the death of his mother he was brought into the capital from the forest of Lumvini, great festivities are said to have been held and grand processions to have been formed to signalize the occasion. If the glorious descriptions of these be not hyperbolic, it must be said that the great festivities and processions held by the later Buddhist Emperors were by far less grand and ceremonious than those described in *Lalitā Vistara*.

It says: "Five thousand well-dressed men with pitchers full of water will lead the van, followed by as many girls of the zenana, holding aloft in their hands fans of the peacock tail, to be followed in their turn by girls holding fans of the palm-leaf. They will be accompanied by other girls with golden vases filled with fragrant waters in their hands. The public roads will have to be sprinkled with water. Five thousand girls will hold flags followed by as many decorated with

variegated flowing garlands and by five hundred Brāhmanas proceeding with ringing bells. The Prince will be followed by twenty thousand elephants, twenty thousand horses, eighty thousand chariots and forty thousand armed infantry."

This was the first birthday festival of Buddha with procession. Festivities were also held with procession on the occasion of the cremation of his body after death. On the full-moon day of Vaishākha (April-May) a great Buddhist festival is celebrated with procession, because it was on this day that Buddha was born as well as attained his pari-nirvāṇa (i.e. final emancipation) or death.

A Buddhist procession of 400 A.D.—From the record left by the Chinese traveller, Fa Hien, of Indian festivities about 400 A.D., we get some account of a Buddhist procession. It was in the reign of Chandra Gupta II, Vikramāditya, that this traveller visited India. He witnessed a huge procession at Pataliputra (modern Patna) on the occasion of the Buddhist car-festival.

Hsuen-Tsang's description (643 A.D.).—Hsuen-Tsang, the Chinese traveller, witnessed a grand procession at Kanauj during the reign of Emperor Harṣa Vardhana, in connexion with a great Buddhist festival that was then solemnized to commemorate the ablution ceremony of Buddha. This is known as Chaitrotsava (festival to be held in the month of Chaitra or March-April). The Emperor himself carried on his shoulders a small image of Buddha to the Ganges to give it a plunge there, and after this was done, returned to the pavilion for festivities. A procession consisting of twenty kings and three hundred elephants marched round the city following the image to the river and back from it.

The Skunya Purāṇa and the Dharmapujā-paddhati of Rāmāi Pandit.—Rāmāi Pandit is said to have lived at Gauda in the twelfth century (?). Provision

was made for a procession in the arrangement that he made for performing the worship of Dharma and holding festivities in his honour. It was laid down that on the occasion of the Gājan of Dharma the organizers should go round the city on a horse named Mādhāi and the chariot of Dharma. This is how the procession of those days was formed.

In Dharma-Mangala.—In all the editions of *Dharma-Mangala* that have come to light, mention is made of processions in connexion with great festivities.

"In Usatpur Sukha Datta of the Vāruī (betel plant-grower) family is engaged in the worship of Dharma with heart and soul. Placing Dharma Pādūkā (sandals) in a gold palanquin he carried it on his head and thus brought Gājan to the circle of Mayanā."

Ghanarāma has referred to the practice of marching out processions of Dharma from village to village.

In the Gājan of Shiva.—In Rādhā (western districts of Bengal) the Sannyāsis in honour of Shiva's Gājan or festival dress themselves in various ways and travel from village to village with rejoicings, placing the phallus of Shiva on a copper plate and carrying it in some places on the head and in some others in palanquins.

It is clear that the custom of forming processions on festive occasions has come down from very early times and has been observed by all denominations, Vedist, Purāṇist, Shaīva, Vaiṣṇava, Jaina and Buddhist. It was not only in connexion with the worship of gods, but on all auspicious occasions that the people are found to have indulged in this luxury. Processions are even now seen in connexion with the ceremonies of marriage, the first tonsure, the investiture with the sacred thread, etc. In Bengal the ceremony of consigning the image of Durgā to the waters is attended with

a procession. Along with this may be mentioned the Bharatmilāp processions of the Punjab, Rāmalīlā processions of the U.P., and the Ganapati processions among the Marathas. The custom of forming similar processions is to be met with among the daily and casual observances of life. Going round and through the town or village in a body, singing the glories of Hari (Kṛiṣṇa), is also a kind of procession.

SECTION II.—MUSIC AND DANCE.

The performances of dance and music have been in vogue on all festive occasions since the Vedic age, and point to the collective group-life that the people of Hindustan have ever lived.

In the Rig Veda.—In the *Rig Veda* Vishwāmītra's son Madhuchchhandā Rīṣi has added to the grandeur of sacrifices by making dance and music inseparably connected with them. Thus he says: "O Shatakratu, singers sing in your honour; worshippers offer their homage to worshipful Indra (i.e. you). Like bantboo-pieces raised aloft by dancers, you are raised high (i.e. your glories are magnified) by your panegyrists."¹ In another place of this scripture we find that the Karkarī and the Vīṇā (something like the lyre) were the favourite musical instruments.

In the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas.—In the *Purāṇas* dance and music were largely introduced, and these were best performed by kinnaras (celestial musicians having human bodies with heads of horses) and their wives, the kinnaris. Musical instruments of various kinds were invented and dance and music were among the best accomplishments of princesses, who were one and all taught these fine arts.

¹ The *Rig Veda*, Aṣṭaka 1, Chap. I, Sukta 10, 1.

In the *Mahābhārata* we find that when in disguise, Arjuna took to a musician's profession and taught music and dance to the princess of Virāta. In the Rājasuya sacrifice of Yudhisthira, also, dance and music were provided on a lavish scale. Not to speak of the place of festivities, even the courts and bed-chambers of princes resounded with their sounds.

In Harivamsha.—In the pleasant boat-trip that was taken to the shrine of Pindāraka, the ladies and gentlemen of the Yadu family indulged themselves freely in dance and music. The particular mode of music known as Chhālīkya was invented at this time by an Apsarā (a celestial nymph devoted to dance and music) named Pancha-chudā, who defeated the accomplished celestial singer Nārada the sage in a competition of music. Every *Purāna*, every *Upa-Purāna*, every *Samhitā*, teems with instances of the prevalence of these fine arts. The people of those days freely encouraged their cultivation.

In Dharma Samhitā.—In *Dharma Samhitā* we find an account of the musical entertainment attended with dance that was given to Shiva.

"All the false mothers (sixteen goddesses such as Gaurī, Padmā, etc.) entertained Rudra with dance and song—some danced, some sang, some laughed, and others amused him amorously."

From this we learn that all the disguised mothers danced and sang round Shiva. King Vāṇa himself treated Shiva with various dances to the accompaniment of music. We read of diverse gestures and noddings of the head exhibited on this occasion.

Juāna Samhitā.—Reference to dance and music is also to be found in *Juāna Samhitā*.

"Inspired by the sentiment of devotion the wise perform worship with dance and music in the first part of

the night, and then apply themselves to the repetition of their respective mantras (incantations invoking the appearance of the gods they worship)."

"Dance and music have again to be performed till the rising of the sun."

These injunctions go to prove that dance and music were much too indulged in in the worship of Shiva. Hence it is that he has got the name of *Nritya-priya* (fond of dance) and *Nata-rāja* (prince of dance).

In the Jaina Purāṇas.—References to dance and music are also to be met with in the *Jaina Purāṇas*. In the legend of *Riṣabha Deva* in *Jaina Harivamsha*, otherwise called *Aristanemi Purāṇa*, we are told of a dance performance. *Riṣabha Deva* lost all zest for the worldly life at the sight of the dance performed by *Nilānjasā*, one of the female dancers in the service of *Indra*, the king of gods.

In Muni-Suvrata Purāṇa.—When the *Jaina* sage *Suvrata* took his birth among men, he was sprinkled with holy water, and on this occasion *Indra* and the other gods sang hymns to him. The spring festivals celebrated by kings were also accompanied with dance and music.

In Buddhist Books.—*Lalita Vistara* says that five hundred *Brāhmaṇas* who joined in the procession that was formed on the occasion of the birthday festival of *Shākyasimha*, were engaged in ringing bells.

Blind Kunāla with his wife "managed to penetrate into an inner court of the palace where he lifted up his voice and wept, and to the sound of a lute, sang a song full of sadness".—*Asoka*, by Smith.

In the record of his travels left by Fa Hien.—In the days of the *Gupta* Kings dance and music were extensively cultivated. Bright pictures of the cultivation of these arts are to be found in the dramas of the time,

On the 8th day of Jyais̥tha (May-June) Fa Hien witnessed the Buddhist car-festival at Pātaliputra. He says that to the image of Buddha seated on the car, flowers and other fragrant things were offered to the accompaniment of dance, song and music. Gloriously the cars marched with flourishes of music, and in a serial order, to the place of festivities which were held throughout the night with dance, song and music.

In the account left by Hiuen-Tsang.—The Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang visited India, as we have seen, when Harṣa Vardhana was on the throne. Dance and music were lavishly provided in the temporary pavilion that was erected for the great festival which he witnessed at Kanauj and also in the procession that marched through the city on the occasion. Every day the festivities were held with dance and music.

Among the injunctions of Buddhism.—The ringing of bells, the singing of religious songs, etc., are among the inviolable duties of the Buddhist.

In the Shunya Purāna of Rāmāi.—In the course of the worship of Dharma, all the themes of Rāmāi's *Shunya Purāna* had to be sung in connexion with the celebration of the ceremonies. It is said that these were sung in the Mangala and the Ravāri modes of music. They were interspersed also with incantations necessary for worshipping Dharma. At the time of this worship the male and female Saṇnyāsīs sang to the accompaniment of dance and the musicians played on their instruments. Thus :—

"With offerings of flowers the songs of Rāmāi were sung."

"Putting on a copper ring, the dancer sings songs throughout the livelong night."

"With various merry dances, music and songs the worship of Dharma charms the whole world."

"Singing songs through his horn, keeping time with the damaru (a small drum), Shiva is meditating on Dharma and striking up a vocal music by playing on his blown-up cheeks with his fingers."

"Some are selling, some are buying, and some are enjoying dance and music."

Such accounts of dance and music are to be found in *Shunya Purāna*.

In the worship of Dharma, while the ceremony of besmearing (the image) with an unguent of sandal powder, etc., is gone through, conch-shells are blown and the women utter the auspicious ulu ulu sound.

"All the dancers danced with flourishes of music to the great enjoyment (of the spectators)."

"Every day drums were beaten, conch-shells were blown, and bells rung to the satisfaction of all."

Horns were repeatedly blown, and a music was struck up with drums, trumpets, kettle-drums, dāmāmā, khamaka and shimgā.

The worship of Dharma was thus performed with dance, song, the sound of ulu and the blowings of conch-shells.

Govinda chandra Gīta, or Lays of Govinda chandra.

—Poet Durlabha Mallik composed the songs collectively known as *Govinda chandra Gīta* (The Lays of Govinda chandra). This book was sung *in toto*. In Vaiṣṇava literature we read of the songs of Yogipāla, Mahipāla, Bhogipāla, and Gopipāla. The last had a wide circulation in the country.

In the Dharma-Mangala by Ghanarāma.—All the Dharma-Mangala works are books of song. For a week prior to the celebration of the Dharma-Pujā the whole of one *Dharma-Mangala* was sung. Ample references are to be found in each of these works to the prevalence of dance and music. Chāmaras (yak-tail

fly brushes) were brandished and cymbals were played on while the Dharma-Mangalas were sung.

"On your way (or just go, and) see and hear dance and music in the gājan of Dharma."—*Canto IV, Ghanarāma.*

"How many poems (songs) are sung and how many musical instruments are played on in the Gājan of Ādyā."

"It was all the reign of music struck up with long and small drums, horns and Kādā (drum beaten at one end)."—*Canto III, ibid.*

"With great pleasure they went through the service of making salutations and passed a sleepless night with dance, song and music, meditation and worship."—*Canto V, ibid.*

"They danced and sang with up-lifted arms."—*Canto V, ibid.*

"Beating a couple of flat drums (beaten at one end only), blowing a horn and flying a royal flag (he) quickly went past Gauda."—*Canto XIV, ibid.*

"Singers and musicians are the principal items of the Gājan. Hari and Hara be pleased to come and listen to the flourish of music in honour of Ādyā."—*Dharma-Pujā by Gaudeshwara.*

"In the morning and evening and at noon (i.e. throughout the day), with endless song and music the king worshipped Dharma with absorbed mind."—*Dharma-Pujā by Gaudeshwara.*

In the Dharma-Mangala by Mānik Gānguli.—"Music is struck up with dhākas and dholas (long drums), sānāi (pipe) and kānsi (an instrument of bell-metal), conch-shells and bells, lyres and flutes, kādā and pootā, turis (bugle) and veris (kettle-drum)."

Mangala-Chandī by Kavikamkana and Mānik Datta.—*Mangala-Chandī* is another book of songs.

The worship of Mangala-Chandī has obtained in Bengal for a long time. She has been the guardian angel of Bengalee homes, and every householder installs a pitcher filled with water as her representative to which worship is offered on every auspicious occasion. The singing of her songs is indispensable, especially in marriages. Long before the birth of Chaitanya (1485-1533) these songs used to be sung in every house. The lays of Mangala-Chandī by Kavikamkana¹ (Mukundarāma) are held in special esteem in Rādhā, just as the *Chandī* of Mānik Datta prevails in Gauda. The usual accompaniments of these songs are the chāmara, the cymbal, the khola (a kind of drum) and the Tānapurā (a stringed instrument used as an accompaniment in vocal music). These songs cannot be sung without a principal singer (leader), some seconds and a musician. While singing, the leader and his seconds play on cymbals and dance to the measures of the music.

Among the references to dance and music in Mānik Datta's *Chandī* we find :—

"Mānik Datta sang a new song.

"Be pleased, O Abhayā, to stay in (my) house for eight days. For your amusement dance and music will be provided, your yantra (diagram representing the goddess) will be duly drawn and worshipped, and an outer garment will be offered to you." "I make over the songs to you that will require eight days to be sung. Go and be pleased to sing in my temple. I make Raghu and Rāghava your seconds and also provide you with a Tānapurā and a musician. Thus you are provided with a full party."

In the Lays of Viṣaharī.—The songs in honour of

¹ Vide J. N. Das Gupta's *Mukundarām : Bengal in the Sixteenth Century* (Calcutta University, 1916).

Viṣahari or Manasā are popularly known as the lays of Viṣahari or the *Bhāsāna of Manasā*.¹ Like *Mangala Chandī* songs, these also were held in great esteem by the people of Bengal. Many writers employed their pen on the Bhāsāna of Manasā. One Vipradāsa, of the village of Vatagrāma, composed the songs of Padmā. Two old books on the songs of Manasā are still extant in Malda under the names of *Tantravibhūti* and *Jagajjivana*. These songs were circulated among the people as charms against the ravages of snakes. Most of these songs are to be found in the legend of Chānda Sadāgara (trader) and Vehulā.

The songs are sung with the khola and cymbals. The *Bhāsāna of Manasā* is found to be sung by the actors representing the personnel of the story. All the different collections of the lays of Viṣahari are full of references to dances, songs and music.

A study of the history of dance and music in India shows that these have largely influenced the Hindus. They grow and develop very naturally in the genial atmosphere of societies. As soon as the human mind seeks relaxation, dance and music spring up, as they largely help in driving out the gloom and in dispersing the clouds that hover above the mind. Hence it is that they have been extensively used for communal ceremonies and festivities. They are also very powerful agents in the hands of the preachers of religion; and in every age a new religious sect has sprung up and let loose the current of devotion over the people's mind by initiating festivities and songs with dance and music. Since they have this efficacy, most of the scriptural works in India have from very early times been composed in the form of songs.

¹ They pass also by the name of the *Lays of Padmā*.

SECTION III.—SOCIAL GATHERINGS.

From very early times the practice of Saubhrātra Milana or *entente cordiale* has been in vogue among the Hindus. It consists in both the sexes forgetting their personal animosities for the time being and joining together with all their hearts in social entertainments. This happy gathering took place in former times on all festive occasions, inspiring new sentiments and ideas, and strengthening the bonds of unity and harmony. Looking about for its history, we find that this healthy custom has obtained since the Vedic age.

In the Vedic Age.—In the Vedic age when the Aryans performed any sacrifice, people of all ranks of society gathered together on the occasion and amused themselves in all possible ways. The distinction of sex was not observed, and males and females partook together of the beverage of soma juice and the food that were offered in the sacrifice. All enmities, all hatreds, all jealousies were sunk in the happy feeling of unity and they all felt like strings of the same musical instrument. The different ranks offered prayers to the god of the sacrifice for conferring peace and happiness on one another.

In the Rāmāyana.—On the conclusion of the terrible war, the armies of Rāma and Rāvaṇa joined in a triumphant shout and embraced one another with the most cordial feelings. A similar bond of unity was also established between the followers of Rāma and Vali after the latter was killed.

In the Mahābhārata.—Innumerable are the instances in the *Mahābhārata* of such brotherly unions. In the Rājasuya sacrifice of Yudhishthira, people of all ranks and of all lands were invited, and they enjoyed the festivities, forgetting all their differences. The

princes of the different countries with their relations may be said to have almost lived and moved together. They dined together, talked together, and very intimately mixed with one another on the occasion of the Avabhrita (concluding) bath—so much so that the pangs of separation were very keenly felt and they could not part with one another without exchanges of embrace and other signs of deep cordiality. This was the form that Saubhrâtra Milana of those days took.

In Harivamsha.—All the heroes of the city of Dwārakā (capital of Shri Kṛṣṇa) amused themselves together on all festive occasions. When they diverted themselves in various ways in the waters of the sea, whether at Raivataka or in the course of their voyage to the shrine of Pindāraka, they forgot all personal quarrels and differences. That they dined, sat and talked together, is a proof, clear and simple, that they were inspired by brotherly love towards one another.

In the Samhitās.—On the occasions of worship, as for example, the worship of Shiva, the votaries lived together cordially for several days and helped in the celebration of the festivities. They danced and sang together and with exchanges of embrace parted with one another after the farewell dinner. This conduced largely to create and strengthen the bond of union and fellow-feeling.

In the Jaina Scriptures.—The Jaina festivals in which all the members took part, helped in developing not only devotion to the same religion but also the feeling of cordiality among the members of the sect.

Buddhist Congresses.—When the great religious conferences of Buddhists were started, Shramāṇas (monks) from different countries came as delegates and promoted the feeling of cordiality and unity by living and mixing freely together. Emperor Asoka tried to keep

up this happy feeling by establishing a brotherly union among the several sects. He created opportunities for the development of a sincere concord and fellow-feeling by bringing people of all classes and creeds to mix together with kindly sentiments. Each Buddhist festival was an occasion for the cultivation of fraternity among the followers of Buddhism.

In the age of Vikramāditya.—Chandragupta II was on the throne when Fa Hien came into India. On the occasion of the Buddhist festival that he witnessed at Pātaliputra, people from villages flocked to the city and joined in the festivities. A very cordial feeling grew up among them owing to their living and dining together and more especially to their taking part in the festivities with dance, song and music. This served the same purpose as the brotherly gatherings of other times. In these festivities the Shaiva, the Shākta and the Buddhist, the Shramana and the Brāhmaṇa, mixed with each other on an equal footing and found an equal share of amusement.

In the time of the Vardhana Kings.—In the reign of Shri Harṣa Vardhana, Hiuen-Tsang witnessed the great conference for religious unification that was held at Prayāga (Allahābad). Worship was offered to Buddha, Shiva and Suryya (Sun) alike, and food and clothing, money and jewels were given away for over a month. This was a most notable instance of an Indian brotherly gathering.

During the reign of the Pāla Kings.—The worship of Dharma preached by Rāmāi was also an effective means of creating a brotherly feeling among the several orders of the community. There were sixteen hundred Sannyāsis, who followed this new religion of Rāmāi. They were all bound to one another by the tie of unity, brought about by their having to eat and live together

and to take part in the same religious festivities. Their friends and relations also joined in the Gājan ceremonies, as Rāmāi says in the Puṣpatolana (plucking flowers) Canto of his *Shunya Purāṇa*:—

"Uncles of some and sons of others came, inspired by the feeling that they were all related to one another, and there was none that was not included in the self-same Swarupa Nārāyaṇa (i.e. God)."

"The sixteen hundred together cried out 'all glory (to Dharma)' with cheerful minds."

"Fifty (a large number) courses of dinner were cooked, some say, through the grace of Anādyā (lit. one who has no beginning)."

The gods sat down (to dinner) with merry voices, Viṣṇu sitting down with the Rīṣis (sages), and Mahādeva with all the ascetics and all those persons who had matted hair on their heads.

Ādyanātha, Mīnanātha, Simgā, Charamginātha, Dandapāṇi and the Kinnaras (a class of demi-gods having human bodies and faces like horses) and all the other gods took their seats according to their respective ranks, and the daughter of Janaka (Sītā) began to serve them.

The preparation of boiled rice, milk and sugar, that was offered to the god of the sacrifice, was served among the merry party. And the gods partook of it with great relish and cheerful hearts.

After dinner they washed their hands and mouths and masticated (for purifying their mouths) myrobalans and Vahedā. Then with their minds constantly fixed on the feet (i.e. form and virtues) of Dharma, they retired to their own places.

Rāmāi thus fed the gods, not forgetting their votaries also. Offerings of rice, etc., were made to the gods of all sects, and with these offerings were entertained the

followers of all creeds. It must be said that this social dinner was a very effective means of creating and fostering brotherly feelings.

In the Shri Dharma-Mangala of Ghanarāma.—Ghanarāma has spoken of males and females joining together in the worship and festivities of Dharma. On these occasions the two sexes mixed together as though they were brothers and sisters. As a token of this happy social gathering, a piece of thread was tied round the wrists of one and all of the party. This ceremony was called Rākhi Vandhana¹ (lit. a tie that will ever keep one fresh in another's memory).

"Ceremoniously welcoming the tree with pure and concentrated minds, they tied pieces of thread round one another's wrists."

This custom of tying threads as a token of brotherly feeling is a very ancient practice, and obtains throughout India at the present day.

In the Gājan.—The Sannyāsis of the Gājan and Gambhīrā are recruited from different castes, but so long as they go through the round of these festivities they observe no caste rules and seem as though they belonged to one and the same social group. They sit and walk together, bathe and worship together. Not only does this feeling of "kith and kin" run among the members of the same party, but it frequently extends to those of adjacent places. The Sannyāsis of one Gājan go out to neighbouring villages, and, inspired by a strong fellow-feeling, embrace and salute the brother Sannyāsis of those Gājans. At the conclusion of the festivities, they dine together, forgetting all caste distinctions, on the Shiva-yajana (the "yajna" of Rāmāi) day. Under the auspices of the Gambhīrā party, they

¹ History records instances of rākhis being presented to each other by allies against a common enemy.

work together for the common good, and thus reveal the fact that the idea of a collective life governs them. Even the distinction of Hindus and Mohammedans is sunk in this institution.

Brotherly feeling fostered by the Durgā Pujā.—On the fourth day of the Durgā (the creative energy of God, wife of Shiva) Pujā, after the image is consigned to the waters, the Hindus forget all their personal and other differences and make it a point to offer Vijayā¹ (the day on which the image is consigned to the waters being called Vijayā Dashamī) greetings to one another. It is a very sweet and cheering spectacle—that of people embracing one another and paying their due respects and compliments according to age, rank, etc. That the whole society feels oneness in its every limb is brought home to Hindu minds on this occasion.

It would thus be apparent that life in India has ever afforded ample scope for the promotion of the sense of national solidarity, and has given rise to certain characteristic conventions, which, like the other conventions of other peoples, deserve attention from the students of Social Man.

¹ Vijayā is observed in one form or another all over India. The greetings have the same significance as Christmas and New Year greetings in Christian lands.

CHAPTER X.

BUDDHIST AND JAINA ELEMENTS IN MODERN HINDUISM.

SECTION I.—THE HĪNAYĀNA SCHOOL¹ OF BUDDHISM.

DURING Śhākyasimha's life-time no steps were taken to worship Buddha through an idol. It was after he had attained final emancipation (i.e. after he had breathed his last) that processions were started with his corpse and festivities held in his honour. It was on the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha (April-May) that he first saw the light of the day, and it was also on that day that he breathed his last.

Hence on this one day were celebrated the festival of his nativity as well as the festivities of his attainment of final emancipation. By way of memorial, a large stupa (mound) was erected over his hair, nails, teeth, bones, clothes and Kamandalu (water-pot used by ascetics), and such other sacred objects. It was here that the above festivals were celebrated. Occasions like these afforded the Buddhists opportunities to hold festivities and to make them well attended.

At the time of initiation, the Buddhist had to resign himself to the protection of the Triratna.² It is laid

Festivities held on the Vaiśākhi Purnimā day.

Confession of sin by the sinner himself.

¹ See Hackmann's *Buddhism as a Religion* (Probsthain, London, 1910).

² The Buddhist Trinity, lit. three jewels—Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha.

down in the treatise named *Prātimokṣa* (i.e. pointing to Mokṣa or salvation) that confession of sin or guilt by the sinner himself is a means of absolution for four kinds of sin or offence. The sect that observed these rules was nicknamed by the later Buddhist sect as Hīnayāna, i.e. follower of Lower (Lesser) Vehicle.

The Hīnayānist also offered worship to Buddha on his seat, or footprints, by imagining him to have established himself there. And it is very likely that it was this practice that subsequently led the performers of Dharma's Gājan to introduce the offering of worship to Buddha Pada (foot-mark of Buddha) or Dharma-pādukā (sandals of Dharma). The votaries of Shiva in the Gambhīrā have also adopted, and up till now preserved, the Hīnayāna idea¹ of being absolved from sin by confessing it as enjoined in *Prātimokṣa*. Hence it may reasonably be said that the worship of the image of Buddha and the festivities that were held in his honour are being still enacted in the Gambhīrā temple only under different names and modified forms. Materials for the Gambhīrā festival have thus been furnished by the festivities that the Hīnayāna Buddhists held on the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha.

Materials for the Gambhīrā furnished by the festivities of the Hīnayāna Buddhists.

SECTION II.—JAINA FESTIVITIES.

The Jaina religion was founded in the age which preceded the founding of Buddhism. Just as Buddhism has provided room for more than one Buddha, so the Jains also believe that there have been several Tirthankaras, and that others will follow in the time to come. Different from Hinduism in certain principles, Jainism has not wholly done away with, rather it shares, the orthodox belief in heaven and the body of gods headed

¹ See p. 20. This is a Jaina custom too.

by Indra. Although slightly different here and there, the descriptions in the Jaina *Purāṇas* are similar to those of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the orthodox *Purāṇas*. The Tirthamkaras, as the historical and semi-historical pioneers of Jainism are designated, may be regarded as belonging to the same category as the Avatāras (persons regarded as God incarnate) of the Hindus. Mixed up with the lives and activities of these Tirthamkaras are to be found accounts of the ancient religion of the country as well as of its kings.

The first Jina (chief saint after whom the sect has been named) of the Jainas was Rīṣabha¹ Deva. The name of his father was Nābhi (the navel) and that of his mother Merudevī (the backbone). He was born at the auspicious moment of planetary conjunction known as Brahma-mahāyoga, on the ninth day of the dark half of the month of Chaitra (March-April). The birthday festival of this first Jina is celebrated with great care and reverence.

It is said that at the time of Rīṣabha's birth, Indra and the other gods came to see him. The Kailāsa mountain (the reputed abode of Shiva) is also found to have some relation with him. It was here that he is said to have attained the state of Nirvāṇa (emancipation).

Like the Buddhists, the Jainas also had no manner of restriction to attending dance and music. For, as we learn from the Jaina *Harivamśa*, the first Jina Rīṣabha was present at the dance of Nīlānjasā, a dancing girl in the service of Indra. This first Jina went to the Kai-

¹ When she went with child Rīṣabha Deva, Meru Devī saw in a vision that Rīṣabha Deva was entering her womb in the likeness of a bull Rīṣabha. The child was probably named after this bull.—*Harivamśa* (*Aristanemi Purāṇa*).

The
Tirtham-
karas.

Rīṣabha
Deva, the
first Jina.
His birthday
festival.

lāsa mountain and thence, surrounded by a large number of Gaṇis (probably the same word as Gaṇa, meaning a host, a large number; used more especially to denote the ghost attendants on Shiva), retired to the Siddha-sthāna, i.e. the place where he achieved success. On this occasion the gods worshipped him with incense and flowers.

The story of this first Jina will be found to be similar to that of Mahādeva of the Hindu, his connexion with the Kailāsa mountain and his receiving homage of the gods being simply an echo of what has been said of the latter. The birthday festival of this Rīṣabha and the practice of offering worship to him seem to have contributed not a little to the starting of the Gambhīra affairs.

The other
Jina festivals.

The Jainas commemorate the times of appearance (i.e. birth) of their Tirthamkara Jinas by holding festivities annually on the occasions. After Jinendra (the chief of the Jinas) was born in the month of Jyaistha (May-June), the gods headed by Indra solemnized the occasion by holding festivities in his honour. Similarly in the months of Chaitra, Vaishākha and Jyaistha were celebrated the birthday festivals of the other Jinas.¹ On these occasions the Jaina Ājivakas (priests) offered worship to the Jinas with resin, lights, flowers, etc., in their Vihāras (Buddhist and Jaina temples are so called), and also offered prayers and sang their glories with the object of invoking their blessings. The temples were beautifully illuminated at night. The Jainas also installed the idol of Jina and offered worship to it.

¹ *Aṣṭaśatī Purāṇa*, 14. The festival was celebrated on the bank of the Kālīndī (a river). See the chapter on Mahāvīra's Predecessors and Disciples in Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism*.

Pārshwanātha is the twenty-third Tirthamkara, the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra, the reputed founder of Jainism. He was the son of Ashwasena, ruler of Benares, by his wife Vāmā Devī. The conception took place on the fourth day of the dark half of the month of Chaitra. Just after his birth, the complexion of Pārshwanātha's body was found to be blue, and there were snake-like forms over his person (whence the epithet Phani-bhūṣaṇa, adorned with snake; this is the title of Shiva also). At the moment of his birth the gods blew trumpets in heaven, flowers were scattered in profusion from the skies, and the damsels of heaven entered the lying-in room, scattered flowers and performed other benedictory ceremonies there. It was thus that the gods and goddesses signalized his nativity; and his father "released the prisoners and engaged beautiful girls to dance and sing amidst exclamations of triumph, shouts of ulu, ulu (uttered by women on festive occasions), blowings of conches, and various other benedictory ceremonies".¹ It was thus with dance, song, music and with gifts that the nativity festivities of the Jinas were observed.

When he came of age, Pārshwanātha travelled from place to place to preach the Jaina religion. The redemption of the fallen was the only object of his life. In the forenoon of the fourth day of the dark half of the month of Chaitra when the moon had entered the region of Vishākhā (the sixteenth lunar mansion consisting of four stars) he acquired the Ananta-vaibhava Kaivalya jñāna (the knowledge that leads to attainment of identity with the divine essence and thus to final emancipation of the soul from all bondages, and which is Ananta-vaibhava, i.e. the repository or source of

Festivities in honour of the birth of Pārshwanātha.

He gained Ananta-vaibhava Kaivalya jñāna in the month of Chaitra.

¹ *Aristanemi Purāṇa (Harivamśha)*.

eternal bliss) under a Dhâtaki tree in Benares. Thereafter reports of his supernatural greatness and powers spread far and wide in all directions. Bent upon doing good to the Jainas, he came, in the course of his travels, to the country of the Pundras (North Bengal), which has ever since been regarded by the Jainas as a sacred region.

To commemorate his acquisition of the above knowledge, the Jainas offer worship to his memory and hold a festival in his honour in the month of Chaitra. This is the celebrated spring festival of the Jainas.

It is under circumstances like the above that the Jaina festivals were started, and have ever since been practised in the months of Chaitra, Vaishākha and Jyais̥tha.¹

The Jaina festivities were first adopted and celebrated by the Pundras immediately after the visit of Pārshwanātha to their country, and have ever since been duly observed. Through the efforts of Gorakṣanātha and Neminātha, and thanks to the esteem in which Jainism was held by the mother of Govindachandra (*c.* twelfth century?), a large number of Jaina Āshramas (hermitages or retreats) sprang up in the Pundra country. Thus like Buddhism, Jainism was also largely favoured in Bengal.

The birthday festival of the first Jina, celebrated on the ninth day of the dark half of the month of Chaitra, came in course of time to be mixed up with the birthday and the Parinirvāṇa festivals of Buddha in the month of Vaishākha; and we may reasonably go a step further and say that in course of time again, all the Jaina and Buddhist festivities of the months of Chaitra

¹ The Nandishwara festival of the Jainas extends over eight days, from the eighth day of the light half of the months of Āṣāḍha (June-July), Kārtika (October-November) and Phālgoon (February-March), to the full-moon day, and is celebrated in every Jaina temple with dance, song, music and the offering of worship, etc.

Adoption of
Jaina festi-
vities by the
Pundras
(N. Bengal).

Eclecticism
in Gambhīra.

and Vaishākha became lost in and contributed to the development of the festivities that are now known under the names of Gājan and Gambhīrā. Or, in other words, the Jaina festivities were in course of time incorporated in, and superseded by, the Buddhist ones, which again were ultimately appropriated by the Hindus and have ever since passed as Shaīva. The close resemblance that exists between Jainism and Shaīvaism leads one naturally to suspect that the former with its whole body of Jinas has become wholly merged in Hinduism.

Seeing that the images of the Jinas are like those of ascetics lost in mental abstraction and decorated with figures of serpents (as the image of Shiva is conceived to be), they were in later times (when Shaīvaism was getting the upper-hand) supposed to be identical with those of Shiva. That is, the Jinas gradually yielded place to Shiva and the Jaina festivals also lost themselves in the Gambhīrā. There was once a large number of Jaina hermitages in what is to-day the district of Malda (situated in the Pundra country); and there are ample evidences to show that Jainism¹ was once firmly established over the whole of Bengal. Even now relics of this creed are to be met with in the district of Bogra (in North Bengal).

Identity between Jina and Shiva.

SECTION III.—THE MAHĀYĀNA SCHOOL² OF BUDDHISM.

The doctrines preached by Shākyasimha could not retain their original character after he had passed away. His disciples apprehended that their creed was in danger

Buddhist Assemblies.

¹ Mrs. Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism* is the only systematic work in English on the history, philosophy, mythology, literature and art of this creed.

² See the chapter on "The Birth of Buddhism" in *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes* by the present author. "One common ocean of devotionism was being fed by Mahāyāna, as by Shaīva, Sanra, Vaisnava, Jaina and other theologies."

of losing its purity, and to decide their course of action under the circumstances, are said to have met together at Rājagriha. In this assembly a careful and elaborate discussion took place regarding Vinaya and other parts of the canon. After this, several other assemblies were also convened, by which the Tripitaka or Threefold Canon (i.e. Vinaya, Sutra and Abhidharma) was defined and recorded.

The disciples of Shākya became divided into numerous camps even during the sitting of one of the first conventions, known as Dharma mahā samgati. One of these parties professed its devotion to the old rigid order and expressed its intention to adhere to it. The views of this sect of Buddhism were not popular, since it could not find out a means of emancipation that would be equally applicable to the wise and the ignorant. According to this primitive form of Buddhism, only the Bhikṣus (monks) were entitled to practise the austerities and obtain through them the path for emancipation.

One of the new orders, however, that sprang up in opposition to the orthodox sect of Buddhism threw open the doors of emancipation for all mankind. They proclaimed with a clear voice that through meditation and prayer every man, the wise and the ignorant alike, would be able to attain salvation very easily and very soon. The sect that announced this liberal or rather popular theory and showed an easy way of emancipation to one and all, assumed the title of Mahāyāna (lit. following a high, i.e. broad, way) and nicknamed their illiberal and narrow-minded opponents Hinayāna (lit. following a low and narrow way).

Mahāyāna
camp.

It was this Mahāyāna branch that contributed largely to the propagation of the theory of Shunya or the void. Like the Vaiṣṇava sect of Hinduism, they placed mercy and devotion above everything else. Their religious

principle may briefly be explained in the following way. Sādhana (i.e. conscious efforts at devoting one's self to the service and thought of God), which can lift up our souls above gross materialism, is based upon Dhyāna (abstract religious contemplation) and Dhāraṇā (steady abstraction of mind from all other considerations and concentration of it upon the idea of God or the religious goal aimed at). Besides this, they also enjoined, as articles of their faith, the extension of mercy and sympathy towards all creatures. It was this broad and liberal aspect of the newer form of Buddhism that tempted men and women alike to embrace it in the hope of finding peace and comfort therefrom ; and thus succeeded in giving it predominance over all the other creeds of the country.

All the tenets of Mahāyānic Buddhism can be traced Nāgārjuna definitely back to Ashwaghōṣa,¹ who played a prominent part in the famous Congress convened by Kushan, Emperor Kāṇṣka in Kashmir about 100 A.D. (?), when and where the schism may be said to have been officially effected. Nāgārjuna was, however, the first to systematize and explain Mahāyānist philosophy in a methodical way. He explained the object and goal of Buddhism to men and women of all ranks, and held it up before them as the only means of warding off trials and tribulations of all kinds, and then imparted to them instructions as to the attainment of Nirvāṇa. His religious view, however, does not seem to have been a purely Buddhist one, for he offered worship to the Shaiva goddess Chandikā (of course as the personified energy of Buddha) and consulted her opinion as to the good or evil likely to spring from intended actions and guided himself accordingly. Thus, the Mahāyāna

¹ See V. Sāstri's communication in J.R.A.S. (London, 1914).

creed will seem to have been largely indebted to the Shaiva one.

The Mādhyamika and Neo-Hinduism.

Nāgārjuna's Order known as the Mādhyamikas held that for the acquisition of religious merit, it was essential to cultivate charity, love of peace, and fortitude, to form character, develop understanding, and acquire the habit of withdrawing the mind from the senses and concentrate it wholly on the contemplation of God. The new form of Nirvāṇa that they set up before their eyes was not for man alone; but they even affirmed that the lower order of gods also such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheshwara, Kālī, Tārā and others might be entitled, by passing through the higher and higher processes of contemplation and meditation, to the attainment of Nirvāṇa. For this respect and consideration that the Mādhyamika Order of Mahāyānism showed for the Hindu pantheon, the Hindu Brāhmaṇas began to look upon them with favour and good-feeling.

1. The reason why the Brāhmaṇas, the leaders of Hinduism, were receiving so favourably the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna sect with their religious views and principles, is thus not far to seek. As the teachings of the Mahāyāna branch of Buddhism were similar to those of liberal Hinduism, many were the people that were consciously or unconsciously influenced by them; and those who contracted an aversion to the observance of sacrifices and other ceremonies enjoined by the Brāhmaṇas, retired into the woods, in order to devise the best methods of performing them mentally. It was these people that might be said to be really houseless Bhikṣus (Buddhist mendicants), unaffected by pleasure and pain. They had renounced the ostentatious performance of sacrifices and the offering of worship to the lower order of deities, and took unmixed delight in the contemplation of the form of Maheshwara.

Now it has been said in the Upaniṣad: "Although destitute of hands and feet, yet he takes up things and walks with great speed. *Sans* eyes and *sans* ears, yet he sees and hears. He knows all that is knowable, but none can know him. He is said to be the foremost and the greatest."—*Shvetāśhwa*, 3, 19.

Mahāyānic
Shunya the
same as
Upaniṣadic
Brahma.

He, who has no body and yet can do all things, who is the repository of all attributes, is the greatest of beings. It is he who is Maheshwara (the God of Gods), who is the Lord of all. It was because the Shunya-vāda (theory of Shunya, the void) of Mahāyānism was based on such an idea, that the Hindus received the Mahāyāna sect so very favourably. A careful study will show that the mahāshunya or the great void of Mahāyānic Buddhism was no other than the Brahma or Maheshwara of the Upaniṣad.

The doctrine that "All is void," which is the analogue of the Hindu notion that "All is Brahma," became popular with the Mahāyānists through Nāgārjuna's Order of Mādhyamikas, but is at least as old as Ashwaghōṣa. It was this sub-sect that in later times inspired the *Shunya Purāṇa* of Rāmāi Pandit and consolidated the basis of the Gambhīrā festival.

From the Mādhyamika¹ branch sprang up in later times the esoteric branch of Buddhism commonly known as Tantric Buddhism. This sect has given rise to such names as "Mantra-yāna," "Kāla-chakra," "Vajra-yāna". From all these sects of Buddhism the Gambhīrā festival has drawn its materials.

Tantric
Buddhism.

The Mahāyāna sect had introduced idol-worship² into its fold. Provisions were made for the worship of Avalokiteshwara, Manjushri and the Dhyāni Buddhas

Idol-worship
by the
Mahāyānists

¹ Vide H. P. Sāstri's Introduction to Vasu's *Modern Buddhism* (Probsthain, London, 1914).

² See Mrs. Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism*.

together with their personified energies as their wives known as Tārā, and others. In different places different conceptions were formed of the forms, complexions and vāhanas (animate conveyances) of Bodhisattvas and the Shaktis (personified energies).

Vairochana is said to have ridden a lion, Akṣobhya an elephant, Ratnasambhava a horse, and Amitābha a goose or peacock, and Amoghasiddhī is said to have travelled on the back of Garuda (the king of birds, who according to the Hindus bears Viṣṇu on his back).

Deities of the
Mādhyamika
received by
the Hindus.

The Brāhmaṇas unhesitatingly welcomed into the fold of Hinduism the Buddhist deities Padmapāṇi, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva as Viṣṇu, Maheshwara and Indra respectively, or in other words, they became indirectly and unconsciously converted to Buddhistic creed. Buddhism was also influenced by Hindu ideas because the Hindu deity Mahādeva was stealing into the Buddhist community, which, however, for the time being, relegated him to a position inferior to that of Buddha.

Buddhist
holidays.

The particular days on which the Buddhists held religious discussions were known as Uposatha. Nothing but religious observances was allowed on these days, which were like Sabbaths to the Buddhists. It was enjoined that they should have absolute rest from the pursuit of all mundane matters on these occasions. This practice is found to be even now observed on the last day of the Gambhīrā festival, when its organizers resign themselves wholly to entertainments and diversions and totally abstain from the pursuit of trade, agriculture, and all other worldly concerns. The merit accruing from listening to the Gambhīrā hymns, etc., is considered to be equal to that derived from listening to the religious aphorisms of the Buddhists.

Buddhist
Car-festival.

The Buddhists of Ceylon celebrate in the spring a festival known as Māra-Vināshaka (lit. the destroyer of

Mâra, i.e. Tempter, the god of amatory passions). In Bengal also, worship is offered to Mahâdeva, the destroyer of Kâma (the awakener of passions), in the spring. The birth and Parinirvâna festivals of Buddha are celebrated in Vaishâkha when the Gambhîrâ and Gâjan festivals are also solemnized. A car-festival of Buddha is also observed in Varendra (North Bengal) under the name of Rathâi or Ratha chharata. It is on record that a car-festival was also held in honour of Dharma in connexion with his worship.

Although the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna sects differed on the cardinal principles of religion, yet neither was behind the other in its respect for the Triratna or Trinity, which, in course of time, assumed definite material forms. Thus, on the right side of the image of Buddha sat Dharma as his spouse, while on his left sat Saṃgha in the male garb; and it became the custom to offer worship to their joint-images. It is said that Ādi Buddha created this female Dharma out of Shunya or the void; and it was from him that the gods Shiva, etc., sprang into being. He is the foremost of all the gods.

Hindu element in Buddhist Trinity.

It will thus be seen that the germs of the present-day Gambhîrâ worship are to be found in the Buddhist festivities that were celebrated on the full-moon day of the month of Vaishâkha in honour of both Hindu and Buddhist deities. The hymns of the Gambhîrâ even now reflect the controversies that arose from differences of opinion between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna sects and contain elaborate discussions on Creation after their different philosophies. The Buddhist festivals were celebrated with offerings¹ of fruits, flowers, incense and

Hindu and Buddhist festivities mixed up.

¹ *Milinda Pañko: Whether Buddha accepts worship or not.*

"Mahārāj (or king), if we are to reap here the fruit of evil actions done before (i.e. in a former life), then it is undeniable that both

food. Dance and music were also performed on these occasions. The offering of food before the image of Buddha is not opposed to the Buddhist creed.

good and evil actions of this life and of previous lives must bear their respective fruits without fail. Hence it is to be understood, O King ! that even if not accepted by or acceptable to Tathāgata (Buddha) who has attained Parinirvāna (final emancipation), actions done in his honour or to gain his favours cannot but be productive of corresponding fruits."

CHAPTER XI.

THE NATIONAL FESTIVALS OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

SECTION I.—THE AGE OF RELIGIOUS ECLECTICISM.

It was Emperor Shri Harṣa (606-47) who brought glory to the Vardhana line of kings. His father had been a powerful King of Thaneshwar, near Delhi, who extended his dominions by conquering Malwa, Gujrat and other places and also by defeating the Huns on the north-western frontier.

On his accession to the throne, Harṣa's attention was first given to warfare. Shashāmka,¹ *alias* Narendra Gupta, a powerful monarch of Eastern India, had put to death Harṣa's brother Rājya Vardhana in the struggle for hegemony in Northern India. To avenge himself on him, Harṣa invaded Shashāmka's territories. Ultimately a part of Bengal and the city of Gauda fell under his sway. Shashāmka ruled over Northern Rādhā, which was very close to Gauda; and very likely Magadha and Gauda were also under his rule. But he had generally passed for the King of Gauda.

After his conquest of Gauda, Harṣa sent his army in different directions. It was about this time that he

¹ Latest reliable details about Shashāmka are to be found in Banerji's Bengali work, *Bāṅgālar Itihāsa*, "Early History of Bengal" (1915). The reign of Harṣa has been fully described in Smith's *Early History of India* (1914).

brought under his sway practically the whole of Eastern India.

Tantrism,
Hindu and
Buddhist.

At the time of the break-up of the Gupta Empire (c. A.D. 580), some valiant members of the family who were ruling neighbouring countries as tributary princes, set up a large number of small independent kingdoms. Shashāmka Narendra Gupta was probably one such king of the Gupta line. He was a Shaiva and professed himself to be a staunch follower of the creed. Indeed, these scions of the Gupta family who were scattered over the country as petty chiefs, followed all of them the creed of the last¹ Gupta Emperors, and thus came to have firm faith in the non-Buddhist systems of worship. Their professed creed was in reality a mixture of the Mantra-yāna form of the Mahāyāna branch of Buddhism and the new Tantric form that the Shaivas and the Shāktas had developed among themselves. Nay, it may with fairness be said of the whole Hindu and Buddhist communities of the time, that they had really lost sight of the differences in their respective creeds and had come to stand on a common religious platform, the planks of which were supplied alike by Buddhism and the Purāṇic and Tantric form of Hinduism. They had but little respect for the injunctions laid down in the Vedic texts or Tripitaka. The Brāhmanas had in fact begun to practise Tantrism.

Worship of
Shiva and
Shakti in
Gauda.

Tantrism based on the Shaiva and the Shākta creed was accepted as personal religion by Shashāmka and other kings of Eastern India. Hence it was that Shaiva Tantrism largely spread throughout Bengal.

But when Harṣa assumed the reins of government over these regions, Buddhism was re-established among the people. This Buddhism was not, however, genuine ;

¹ The first Guptas were worshippers of Visnu.

it was simply the Tantric form that the Mantra-yāna sect of the Mahāyāna branch had lately developed. However, it was this form of Buddhism, difficult to distinguish from neo-Hinduism, that was being re-established about this time in various places of Upper India through Harṣa's policy of religious neutrality.

The line of the Vardhana Kings to which he belonged contained princes of various faiths; some were Shaivas, some Sauras, and others Buddhists. Puṣya-bhūti, one of the earliest kings of the line, was a Shaiva from boyhood. Prabhākara Vardhana, father of Harṣa, was a staunch Saura (Sun-worshipper). He used daily to worship the Sun-god on a crystal plate with red lotuses. During his reign the Saura religion exercised considerable influence. Rājya Vardhana, elder brother of Harṣa, and their sister Rājyashrī, were again earnest advocates of Buddhism. Harṣa himself adopted, one after another, the Hinayāna, the Mahāyāna and ultimately the Mantrayāna creed; but he worshipped equally the images of Shiva, Suryya and the different Buddhas. He also established their images in temples. In his early life he was a Shaiva; later a devoted Buddhist, and during his last days he again professed himself to be a staunch Maheshwara (i.e. follower of Maheshwara, Shiva). Hence it cannot be said with any degree of certainty which of these was the creed of his heart. He performed various religious observances, but was not partial to any. It may be inferred that it was for the people of India an age of religious unification; and Harṣa made it a part of his state-craft to follow the subjects in the practice of those observances which had come to find favour with them.

Thus during the reign of the Vardhana dynasty, the people celebrated the Shaiva, Shākta, Saura and Buddhist festivals alike. As all the different sects had

Catholicity of
Harṣa: he
worshipped
Shiva, Suryya
and Buddha
alike.

Religious
unification.

faith in Tantrism, all the religious festivities began to be unified and grow identical in character. The Buddhist spring festival and the birth and Parinirvāṇa festivals of Buddha (held in the month of Vaiśākha) as well as the Jaina spring and Shaiva festivals were celebrated about the same time; and, as we have seen before, the worship and festivals in honour of the various gods and goddesses by the Mantra-yāna sect of Mahāyāna Buddhism were similar to those performed by the Hindus. Hence it will be seen that the festivities and entertainments of the whole people were the same, no matter how many different sects and denominations there were superficially. And in course of time the tendency of mutual imitation became so great among the several creeds and sects that the difference between Hindu and Buddhist festivals came to be very slight.

These festivals that were held in the months of Chaitra (March-April) and Vaiśākha (April-May) gradually contributed to the growth and development of the Gambhīrā. It may be noted here that Hindu and Buddhist Tantrisms are so identical in character that even a trained eye can scarcely be expected to find out the nice points of difference.

From a study of the festivities and entertainments that were actually held during the reign of Harṣa, it would appear that the age of religious eclecticism reached its climax.¹ It was not among his subjects only that a harmonious spirit was at work tending towards

¹ Shri Harṣa Deva was himself a poet and there was in his court the famous poet named Bāṇabhaṭṭa. It was by this court that such dramas of genuine poetical merits as *Nāgīnanda*, *Ratnāvatī*, *Priyadarśikā*, etc., were published. Jimutavāhana, the hero of *Nāgīnanda*, was a Buddhist, while his wife Mālyavatī was a model follower of the Shaiva cult. A study of this drama will lead one to infer that about this time a harmonious spirit tending towards unification was governing both Buddhism and Shaivism.

religious unification. He, too, was influenced by it; and for the benefit of his subjects, without distinction of creed, he spent large sums of money in erecting inns and hotels, dispensaries and hospitals, Vihāras and temples and the like. Throughout the length and breadth of his vast empire he allowed equal rights to his Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu subjects; the people enjoyed royal patronage equally. The sincere love of the king for his people made them deeply attached to him and must have been an additional factor in promoting toleration and good-will. When the ruler was such, his subjects also could not help driving away all religious animosities and were unconsciously drawn towards a more or less unified faith. Although he was a Buddhist by creed, his subjects gladly took part in the religious festivities of the emperor and helped him in the practice of his religion; nay, they even went to the extent of following him in their own festivities. Only an insignificant fraction of them, viz. the Brāhmaṇas of the older Vedic order, felt dislike for the king because of his Buddhist predilection.

SECTION II.—TWO FESTIVITIES WITNESSED BY HIUEN-THSANG.

To learn particulars of Buddhism from its followers in India and to collect Buddhist treatises of various classes, Hiuen-Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, left China in 629 A.D., and made his way to India through Central Asia. He was a member of the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism.

He appeared before the court of Harṣa, who received him with due respect. Enjoying the favour of the king, the pilgrim remained a state-guest for a long time and found his royal host deeply attached towards Buddhism.

Hiuen-Thsang's visit to India.

The accounts
of Indian
festivals.

It is a matter for regret that in no historical, religious or poetical work of the time any detailed and systematic account is found of the festivities that were then in vogue. Fortunately for us, however, a foreigner, speaking a foreign tongue, viz. a pious Chinese pilgrim, took pains to record in his language a large chapter of the Indian history of the time; and it has been accepted by posterity as a very accurate record of those days.

Reliable proofs have been found as to the accuracy of his descriptions, and thus he may be said to have illumined a dark chapter of the mediæval history of India. He saw with his own eyes the festivities that were held during the reign of Harṣa, and we reproduce below in brief what he said of them.

(a) *The Special Festival at Kanauj (A.D. 643).*

The Kānya-
kubja festival
described;
celebrated
with dance,
song and
music.

It was this Chinese pilgrim that was the occasion of the special assembly that was for the first time called at Kānyakubja (modern Kanauj) and was followed by festivities exhibiting the image of Buddha. He obtained an interview with Emperor Shri Harṣa in Bengal, and the latter was so highly satisfied with his religious discourse that on his return to the capital Kanauj with Hiuen-Tsang, he convened a public assembly to let the people in general have an opportunity of listening to his learned religious talks.

At this congregation assembled a large number of Jaina and Buddhist Shramaṇas and Bhikṣus as well as Brāhmanas. A huge temporary pavilion was erected for the purpose; and inside it a hundred feet high temple was built for holding festivities in honour of Buddha, a human-size image of whom was also established there. The Emperor himself carried on his shoulders a

small gold image of Buddha for a bath in the Ganges and after ablution brought it back to the temple.¹ This festival extended from the 1st to the 21st day of the month of Chaitra (March-April).

Provision was made here on a lavish scale for the performances of dance and music, vocal and instrumental, and every day the festivities opened with these. Shramanas and Brahmanas, natives and foreigners, were fed alike with various articles of food in plenty.

One day the Brahmanas, jealous of the Buddhists, are said to have set fire to this huge pavilion and a portion of it was burnt to ashes.

The above festival which was held in the month of Chaitra was henceforward turned into an annual one. And in course of time this Chaitra (spring) festival of Kanauj by Harsha has developed or rather degenerated into our Gambhirā and Gājan festival. At least it has materially helped in the gradual development of the latter.

The Chaitra
festival of
Harsha.

In later times to commemorate the burning of the pavilion, various feats were exhibited with fire after the festival was over. This part of the festivities also has not been neglected in the Gambhirā. For even now various diverting feats are performed under the name of Phulkhelā (lit. diversion with flowers) both in the Gambhirā and Gājan festivals. The Phulkhelā is performed in the following way. The Bhaktas or Sannyāsis divide themselves into two opposite parties and kindle a fire with small pieces of wood, etc. They then snatch these burning pieces and hurl them at one

¹ Similar ceremonies of bathing and worshipping the image are to be met with also in connexion with the installation ceremony of the phallus of Shiva in the Gājan of Dharma and the Gambhirā of Ādyā.

another. As observed before, this is simply a reproduction of the burning of the pavilion at Kanauj.¹

Processions.

In the above spring festival a procession was started with the image of Buddha. The principal tributary chiefs with elephants, horses, etc., and the common people joined this procession and it was attended by dancers, singers and musicians. On this occasion flowers of gold were given away. The procession passed round the city and then returned to the place of festival. This practice of starting processions is still observed in the Gambhīrā and the Gājan of Shiva and Dharma.

(b) *The Quinquennial Festival at Allahabad (A.D. 643).*

The festival
at Prayāga
described

Hsuen-Tsang witnessed a grand festival at Prayāga (Allahabad).² It was a festival of charity, under the directions of Emperor Harṣa. Upon the celebration of the Kānyakubja festival, the Emperor came to

¹ Even now on the eve of the Doal-yātrā festival a fire-festival is held under the name of Nedāpodā in some places, Medhāpodā in others, and Agchi in still others. Probably it was intended to insinuate the burning to ashes of the Nedās, i.e. clean-shaved Buddhists, by the Brāhmanas. Although a reason for the celebration of this festival is to be found in the Shāstra, yet the above seems to be the original cause.

² "Every Bhikṣu or Buddhist ascetic had to confess his own sins twice in the month—on the full-moon and on the new-moon day. Gradually this practice was introduced among the householders also, but it was not always convenient to observe. Accordingly King Asoka started a great festival for the atonement of sins. At first it was ordained both to confess one's own sins and to practise the virtue of charity on this occasion. Subsequently, however, the first clause was omitted in the case of householders. This festival of charity was a quinquennial one. It was once observed in Prayāga in the 7th century A.D., when Hsuen-Tsang the Chinese pilgrim witnessed it."—*The Religious Sects of India*, by A. K. Datta.

Prayâga and performed this quinquennial one. Every year of its celebration, it was preceded by the calling of a huge assembly like that of Kanauj.

This great festival was held upon the vast field lying in the centre of the ground near the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Allahabad. This wide field of festivities was, as it were, a field of delight; it was enclosed on all sides by a beautiful fence of rose trees always sparkling with lovely blossoms and flowers in abundance. Inside this enclosure were beautifully furnished houses filled with gold and silver, silk clothes and other precious articles of gift. There were erected in front of these store-houses and in rows one hundred houses each commodious enough for the sitting down to dinner of one hundred persons at the same time. In compliance with the requisition of Harṣa, all the tributary princes assembled at this congregation, and innumerable were the orphans and the diseased, the poor and the needy that also gathered together here. Besides, innumerable Brâhmanas of Northern India and a very large number of ascetics of non-Brâhmanical orders were also very respectfully invited. From the religious ceremonies that were observed on this occasion, it is reasonably inferred that the organizers were at great pains to bring about an unprecedented religious unification.

The festivities, the gifts and the worship extended The gifts. over seventy-five days. On the first day a cottage made of leaves was erected on the bank of the river and inside it was installed an image of Buddha. As soon as this was done, untold rich clothing and valuable ornaments were distributed. On the second day an image of the Sun and on the third an image of Shiva were also installed; but the quantity of gifts came down to one-half. On the fourth day, to the great delight of

ten thousand Buddhist Shramanas, vast riches were distributed to them. Each of them was the recipient of precious food, drink, flowers and perfumes in plenty, and over and above these, one hundred gold coins, one pearl and one rich wrapper for the body. The next twenty days were devoted to the reception of Brāhmanas. The next ten days were distributed riches and other things to the Jainas and the people of other creeds. Then after the Bhikṣus coming from far-off places were gratified with gifts for the same period, the orphan and the helpless, the diseased and the poor received various kinds of help for full one month.

Homage to
the tutelary
deities of the
ten quarters
of the globe.

In the course of this festival Harṣa offered worship to Shiva, the Sun, the Buddhas and the tutelary deities of the ten directions. It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the tributary princes of the whole empire also celebrated similar Gift-festivities in their own territories, and there they played the part of the giver (i.e. gave away money, clothes, etc.), like Harṣa. This is as much as to say that in this age of religious unification, in every tributary territory also homage was rendered alike to the Sun, Shiva and the Buddhas. On these occasions also, as in the time of Fa Hien, provision was made, in connexion with Buddhist festivities, for entertaining the people with dance and music.

Development
of the Gam-
bhīrā.

The provisions that are met with in the present-day Gambhīrā for confessing one's own sin before Shiva and for worshipping Shiva and the other gods with the tutelary deities of the ten quarters of the globe, seem to be but relics of this Imperial festival. In Buddhist festivities of this nature, in the time of Rāmāi Pandit (twelfth century?), four Pandits with their respective gatis (devotees) of a fixed number (Rāmāi had sixteen) had to attend them; and the hero or the principal organizer of the Dharmapujā was made to play the rôle

of Dānapati (master of charities) like Harṣa and provision was made for distributing in gifts a large amount of money. The ceremony of muktā-mangala (the auspicious pearl) that was observed in this connexion in the time of Rāmāi Pandit is a clear proof that at this time also pearl was given away just as Harṣa gave away gold and pearl to Buddhist mendicants. Like Harṣa's installation and worship of the images of three gods on three successive days, the Gājan festivities also extend over three days, and the feeding ceremony of the latter performed on the last day under the name of Shiva-yajana is also a poor representation of the sumptuous feast that the Emperor provided on the occasion of his festival.

In the course of his travels in the eastern part of the country, Hiuen-Tsang visited Pundra-Vardhana, the capital of the Pundras in North Bengal. There were twenty Buddhist Samghārāmas, and three hundred Buddhist preachers lived there. The pilgrim noticed also over one hundred Hindu temples and a good number of Jaina devotees. In the southern part of Gauda circle, adjacent to this territory, King Shashāmka had celebrated festivals both of the Shaiva and the Saura creed. The movement of religious unification was thus at work in Eastern India; since, although Shashāmka¹ was a Shaiva, there was in his kingdom a Buddhist Samghārāma (monastery) named Raktamitti.

¹ Shashāmka's alleged persecution of Buddhism is held to be "not proven" in the writings of R. D. Banerji.

CHAPTER XII.

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE PEOPLE OF BENGAL UNDER THE PÂLAS.

SECTION I.—THE PÂLA-CHOLA PERIOD OF HINDU IMPERIALISM (9TH TO 13TH CENTURY A.D.).

RECENT researches of Indian scholars in the mediæval history of Eastern and Southern India from archæological, linguistic, religious and other standpoints have unearthed important facts of Bengal and Tamil antiquities which demand prominent recognition in the standard works on Indian culture-history. The Pâlas and Cholas of mediæval India can no longer be treated as subordinate or petty princes ruling over the "smaller kingdoms" in one of the so-called periods of disintegration¹ which Indian history is said to repeat after every epoch of consolidation; but must be ranked as by no means inferior in prestige, titles, pretensions, influences and achievements to the famous Vardhanas of the seventh century A.D., the Guptas of the fourth-fifth century A.D., and the Mauryas of the fourth-third century B.C. Dharmapâla (c. A.D. 800), the Buddhist Emperor of Eastern India, with his immediate predecessors and successors, as well as Rājendra Chola (1018-35), the great

¹ It need be noted that such periods of disintegration have been repeated in the history of every people. *Vide* the section on "Comparative Chronology and Comparative History" in *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*.

Shaiva monarch of the South, with his predecessors and successors, constitute two remarkable contemporary imperial families, which must have a place by the side of such renowned Indian Napoleons, empire-builders and statesmen as Chandragupta Maurya, Asoka the benevolent "Cæsaro-papist," Samudragupta, Chandragupta the Gupta Vikramâditya, and Harṣavardhana, who had preceded them in solving the same problems of administration, commerce, religion and culture on the stage of Hindusthan. The drama of Indian history should, therefore, have its first act closed not at the middle of the seventh century with the passing away of the Vardhanas from Kanauj and Upper India, but really at the end of the twelfth century (1193) with the overthrow of the successors of the Pâlas in Eastern India by a lieutenant of Muhammad Ghori, and about the beginning of the fourteenth century (1310) with the overthrow of the successors of the Cholas by a lieutenant of Ala-ud-din Khiliji.

The Hindu period of Indian history does not end with Harṣavardhana (seventh century) and the subjugation by Mussalmans of certain Rajput States in Western India in the tenth and eleventh centuries. For the social expansion, religious assimilation, commercial progress, and imperial achievements which we are wont to associate with the brightest eras of Hindu national culture, were going on in Eastern and Southern Hindusthan, free and unhampered as of yore, along the natural lines of progressive evolution, up till the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while the buffer-princes of Lahore, Delhi, Ajmere, Kanauj, Malwa and Gujrat were performing their duties as, by position, the gate-keepers of India against the inroads of aggressive Islam. The period of the mighty Pâlas and Cholas and their successors has witnessed the solution of

problems which are of paramount importance in Indian history, literature, fine arts, philosophy and religion; because it was during this age that the ocean of Tantrism finally swallowed up in a common philosophy the divergent channels of Mahâyâna Buddhism and latter-day Brâhmanism, that Vaiṣṇavism and Shaivism, the corner-stones of modern Hindu life, received the official stamp, the parents of present-day vernaculars were encouraged and protected, noble religious edifices were built, huge sea-like tanks were excavated, magnificent images were sculptured in bronze and stones, the navigation of the sea was pushed forward, commercial and cultural intercourse between the Southerners and Easterners was promoted, and India became really the school of Asia by supplying faith, literature, arts, and material necessities to Nepal, Tibet, China, Japan, Javâ, Burma and other lands beyond the seas. This period does in fact carry forward and develop the impulses, aspirations and tendencies of Hindu life testified to by the Chinese master of law in Harṣavardhana's time.

The Pâlas (780-1175) and Cholas (900-1300) are really the spiritual successors of the great empire-builder and statesman of the seventh century; the epoch of their hegemony in Indian history is a brilliant sequel to the splendid epoch of imperialism, religious toleration and eclecticism, colonizing activity and social amalgamation which it had been the policy of the great Harṣa to pioneer and direct. Their services to the making of Indian national culture deserve the same meed of homage, therefore, from historians as those of Harṣa. And now that excavations, explorations, reading and interpretation of old vernacular manuscripts, copper-plate inscriptions, and numismatics, study of folk-lore, folk-songs, folk-arts, and village traditions, evidences of Sanskrit

literature, old sculptures and paintings, call up before us a picture of political and religious life, commercial and social intercourse, art development, and literary progress no less definite and clear than what we have for any other period of Indian history, the necessity of looking upon the Pāla-Chola¹ period as the really last phase of Imperialism in Hindu India cannot be too strongly advocated.

SECTION II.—SUBMERGENCE OF BUDDHISM.

Northern India was agitated by anarchy and revolutions from the middle of the seventh down to the beginning of the eighth century. During the early years of the eighth century it was subjugated by Yashovarman of Kanauj. Though this suppressed anarchy in other parts of Northern India, yet it was now that political troubles gathered over Magadha and Gauda-Pundra (Bengal). Anarchy and revolutions in Bengal and Northern India.

The conquest of Gauda by Yashovarman furnished to the poet Vākpati the theme of his epic, *Gauda-vadha* (lit. The Murder of Gauda, i.e. the king of Gauda), in Prākṛit language. From this we learn simply that Yashovarman killed the king of Gauda and conquered it; but we are left in the dark as to how long or if at all the country submitted to his yoke. The epic, *Gauda-vadha*, by Vākpati.

It is believed that a little after this conquest, Gauda was under the rule of Ādishura, or Jayanta (c. 730), when the tide of Buddhism almost overflowed the country. The Shura kings made the first effort to Efforts to re-establish Vedic regulations.

¹ Since the above was written Mr. Vincent Smith has in the third edition of his *Early History* (1914) admitted the claims of the Pālas for "remembrance as one of the most remarkable of Indian dynasties," and as having made "Bengal one of the great powers of India". He has also drawn prominent attention to the achievements of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj (816-1194).

re-establish Vedic religion, and are by tradition known to have brought down some Vedic Brāhmaṇas from Kanauij, and with their help promulgated the Vedic rites and ceremonies throughout the circle of Gauda. These Brāhmaṇas, five in number, settled in Gauda and did all they could to make the people bow again to Vedic rules and injunctions. Their task became rather easy from the fact that the king himself followed the Vedic practice. The authenticity of this tradition is disputed by scholars.

Mātsya
Nyāya, or
"State of
Nature," as
understood by
Hooker and
Spinoza.

Bengal had to submit to three more foreign invasions from the east, the west, and the south, in succession. Besides, the whole region was divided among a number of smaller Vedist and Buddhist princes who were engaged in a perpetual struggle with one another. The majority of the people, however, seem to have been Buddhists. They were engaged in a sort of continual warfare with the Vedists. "Mātsya Nyāya" (the logic of Mātsya, i.e. fish, implying the destruction of the weaker by the stronger) or the struggle for existence was at this time the characteristic of the people in Eastern India. The condition of the country was almost anarchic, there being no strong ruler; or, if there were any, his attention was wholly absorbed in stamping out internal dissensions. The consequence was that the strong oppressed the weak with impunity and there was a veritable "state of nature". The following lines from Vasu's *Bāṅger Jātīya Itihāsa* (The History of Bengal Castes), *Vaiśhya kāṇḍa* (Chapter on the Vaiśhyas), *Vaiśhya kula parichaya* (Account of the several Vaiśhya families), mirror forth the actual condition of the country at this time :—

"The throne is vacant, there being no king at the helm of affairs :
Life and property are at the mercy of whoever can take them."

To check the headlong current of this anarchy the people of Bengal offered their throne to Gopāla, an elderly military genius among themselves. He became the first king of Gauda by virtue of popular election (c. 785). Kingship by popular election.

The Brāhmanas alleged to have been brought by the Shura king had established the Vedic and Purāṇic forms of Hinduism in Gauda, and prior to that some had firmly embraced the Shaiva cult. Phanibhuṣaṇa Lokeshwara and Tārā and the other Shaktis of the Buddhists had already become incorporated with the gods of the Hindu pantheon. Lokeshwara, sitting under the bodhi tree, looked exactly like Shiva sitting under the marmelos tree, and was actually receiving homage as such. The Shaivas and the Tantrists worshipped Maheshwara and Lokeshwara alike. The Neo-Hindu Cults.

From this time forward the Shaiva, the Shākta and the Saura cults began to impress their influence upon the conduct of the Buddhist idolators. Buddhist influence was in fact dying out; the Mahāyānists and Hindus of the Shaiva and other cults being almost equally addicted to Tantrism.

Gopāla was succeeded by his son, Dharmapāla (795-830), on the throne of Gauda. The new king established the Vikramashilā monastery in Magadha (present Behar Province). There is no means of knowing if he established any in Gauda; at least there are no relics of them extant, even if he did. It was about this time that Jetārimuni, son of prince Sanātana of Varendra (North Bengal), entered the order of Buddhist Bhikṣus. He founded a satra (a place where food is supplied to the poor or pilgrims without cost) in the Vikramashilā Vihāra (monastery).

Dharmapāla was a Buddhist of the Mahāyāna school, but allowed his subjects full freedom as to their religious

Image of
Nārāyaṇa.

Idol of
Mahādeva.

Brāhmanic
influence.

principles. His chief general, Nārāyaṇa Varman, installed an idol of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) at a place named Shubhashthali. The Vedic and Purāṇic ceremonies were thus practised without opposition. The king was anxious to please his subjects without distinction of creed. Hence it was that Buddhism could not gain ground, or even hold its own, against its ostentatious and tolerated rivals. Jainism also was at a low ebb in Gauda during the reign of Dharmapāla. He was an enemy of Amarāja, a Jaina king; hence the influence that Buddhism had could not be exerted by the creed of the latter. In the twenty-sixth year of his reign was installed an idol of the four-faced Mahādeva not far off from the Mahābodhi tree of Gayā.

On the death of Dharmapāla, his second son Devapāla (830-65) ascended the throne of Gauda. The Vedic Brāhmanas had monopolized the office of prime minister of the Pāla Emperors. This threw open the doors of the royal house to the gradual influx of the Hindu influence. Devapāla looked upon his Brāhmaṇa Premier with great respect and esteem. For this reason Hari Mishra has greatly eulogized him in his *Kārikā* (a poem consisting of expository stanzas).

Ghanarāma Pandit has said in his *Dharmamangala* that the line of the Pāla kings was descended from the God of Ocean. Here he had not drawn on his imagination, for such a tradition had long been current in the country. Ghanarāma says:—

"King Dharmapāla is a pious ruler. Of good descent and high character, he is like the kalpataru (a fabulous wishing-tree that gives whatever is begged of it) of this Kali or Iron Age."

"His son, Gaudeshwara, is born of the spirit of God. For his piety and indomitable energy, he is praised by the whole world."

"What shall I say of him, who is devoted to his faith, rules the earth and has descended from the Ocean, who has the Moon for his friend?" The Ocean-God.

It is this Devapāla who is the Ocean's son in the *Kārikā*. In *Rāma-Charita* (c. 1080), by Sandhyākara Nandī, also, the Pāla family has been said to have been descended from the same source.¹ It was belief in this tradition that may have led the Pāla kings to practise Hindu rites and customs.

The Pāla kings were gradually entertaining greater respect for the Brāhmaṇas and the Brāhmaṇic religion. In the inscription on the Garuda-stambha (pillar) we have: "Shurapāla was like Indra himself, and was a favourite of the people". Kedāra Mishra was his adviser and prime minister. He was an orthodox Vedic Brāhmaṇa, the great-grandson of the first Premier of the Pāla House.

Some coins with the name of Vighrapāla have been found. These are like the coins of the fire-worshipping Sassanian royal family of Persia. The altar of fire-worship of the Sassanians and the effigies of the sacrificial priest, and of Adhvaryu (priest proficient in the Yajurveda) on its either side lead us to suspect that Vighrapāla, *alias* Shurapāla, was a fire-worshipper, i.e. followed the Vedic practices.

Kedāra's son, Gurava Mishra, the prime minister of Nārāyaṇapāla, set up the pillar of Garuda, the bird-vehicle of Viṣṇu. We learn from a stanza in a copper-plate granted by Nārāyaṇapāla, that the Pāshupata religion (i.e. the view that inculcated the worship of

¹ Like the contemporary Gurjara-Pratihāra Emperors of Kanauj, the Pālas of Eastern India must be ethnologically traced to Tartar or Mongol (Saka, Kushan, Hun) factors in Indian population. See the section on "Tartarisation of Aryanised Dravidians" in *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*.

Pashupati, i.e. Shiva)¹ also obtained unopposed in the country about this time.

The temple
of Sahasrāya-
tana.

"(This piece of land is set apart by) Emperor Nārāyaṇapāla, after having established the temple of Sahasrāyatana, for meeting the expenses of duly worshipping Shiva Bhattāraka, who has been installed there, of offering sacrifices and oblations of rice, milk and sugar, boiled together, to him, and of giving away food to the poor and the needy in his honour; for supplying beds, seats, food and medicines to the body of the priests of Pashupati and for the discharge of the menial work that they may require; and also for the due maintenance, according to the allotment devised by himself, of those persons who follow the grantor's faith."

From this inscription on the copper-plate we get an idea of the deep root that Shaivism had struck in Gauda. Although a staunch Buddhist himself, yet Nārāyaṇapāla endowed lands for the service of Shiva. The objects of the endowment are clearly set forth—the due worship, etc., of Shiva Bhattāraka, the supply of beds, etc., to the priests of Pashupati, and the due maintenance of those other persons who were of the grantor's (Emperor's) faith. This shows unmistakably that Nārāyaṇapāla founded temples of Shiva for promulgating the Pāshupata view, while he made arrangements for the gratification of his subjects of other creeds as well. Thus, while arrangements were made for the worship of Shiva Bhattāraka in these temples, provision was made at the same time for supplying beds, etc., to the Buddhists as well as to the priests of Pashupati; and, that these might not have occasion for quarrelling with one another, he also defined their respective rights and shares.

¹ A bronze image of Pārvatī, the wife of Shiva, was set up in the fifty-fourth year of this reign.

In previous times the Buddhist kings established Vihāras or monasteries, where they installed the idols of Lokeshwara and Tārā, and made provision for the food, beds, etc., of the Buddhist priests. During the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 875-930), however, no Buddhist Vihāras seem to have been built, but instead were built the temples of Shiva, wherein were installed the idol of Maheshwara with the look of Lokeshwara. These temples, it might be noticed, had a peculiarity of their own. Although dedicated to Shiva, arrangements were made here for the residence and maintenance of Hindus and Buddhists alike. Further, the Buddhist festivals were observed here; and persons of all creeds gathered on the occasions of the Shaiva festivities, which were accompanied with dance and music. Provision was made also for supplying food and drink to the guests.

The temple of Shiva an imitation of the Buddhist vihāra.

It was thus that while, on the one hand, materials were furnished for the growth and development of the Shaiva Gambhīrā, on the other hand, the death-knell of Buddhism as a separate creed was rung.

It must be noticed, however, that although the Shaiva influence is predominant in the Gambhīrā, yet institutions and observances of the Buddhist Tantric school form its backbone. The influence exercised by the Brāhmaṇa ministers of the Pāla kings helped Shaivaism in the displacement of Buddhism, which gradually became merged in the former. The Pāla dynasty owed its political legitimacy to the "election" by the Folk, and it was the Folk that dominated the age in matters of faith.

SECTION III.—ESTABLISHMENT OF SHAIVAISM IN
BENGAL (ELEVENTH CENTURY).

It was before the time of the Pāla dynasty that Shaivism had struck roots in Bengal. But it was under this dynasty that the predominant voice of the Brāhmaṇa ministers enhanced its influence and established Hinduism over Buddhism. More especially during the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla Shaivism gained an extensive hold upon the minds of the people. Buddhism was being driven out of Bengal, and what remained of it was so simply in name, the substance becoming graciously identified with Shaivism. In the copper-plate injunction issued by him, Nārāyaṇapāla ordered that "the Chātas (thieves) and Bhātas (lit. panegyrists, hence cheats) should be prevented from carrying on their depredations within the limits of the country administered by the priests of Pashupati". It may be inferred that previous to the issue of the order some sect or sects oppressed the Shaivas, and that this oppression was thus put an end to by royal proclamation. Being protected from opposition and its course made smooth, the Shaiva creed gradually spread over the whole territory of the Pāla kings.

Religious
transformation.

The earlier kings of the Pāla dynasty were personally staunch Buddhists. But in later times kings of this line are found to have yielded to the Shaiva and the Vaiṣṇava creeds. The country had in the meanwhile witnessed a religious revolution to which the rulers had to adapt themselves.

In his edition of the *Shunya Purāṇa*, Vasu gives the following picture of the religious transformation in Eastern India:—

"About the time of Dharmapāla (c. 800), the whole of North and East India witnessed the successive rise and

fall of various sects. Jainism gained the day where only a short while before the Vedic religion had swayed the minds of the people. In the same way, within a very short time, Hinduism was found to have risen out of the ashes of Jainism and to have enlisted the public sympathy on its side. The place which was once the scene of sacrifices, from which sacred smoke rose up in curls and overcast the heavens, and which resounded with the recitations of Vedic hymns, was found a short while after to have been transformed into a dismal scene, where the sacrifices of animals before the various terrific images of Mahākāla, worshipped by the Tantric Buddhists, became the order of the day."

In an age of such religious transitions, Hinduism became ultimately established through the influence of the Brāhmaṇa ministers of the Pāla kings. The Tantric form of Buddhism was similar to that of Shaivaism, Lokeshwara and Tārā of the former being simply shadows of Shiva and Durgā of the latter. Hence it was easy for Tantric Buddhism to lose itself in Shaivaism; and the consequence of this was that the Shaiva and the Shākta creed commanded the religious devotion of the people.

Rājyapāla "had tanks excavated and wells sunk as bottomless as the ocean, and had temples built the rooms of which were as high as a mountain". He was probably a nominal emperor; as about the middle of the tenth century the northern districts of the Pāla Empire came under Kāmboja (Mongolian) rule, and the western were overrun by the Gurjaras of Kanauj. It was Mahipāla I (c. 980-1026) who succeeded in establishing a Second Pāla Empire. Archaeological evidences indicate that the "barbarian" Kambojas accepted the Shaiva faith of the people, and that Mahipāla, who was tolerant of all creeds, had a Brāhmaṇa Premier.

Dipamkara
Shriijnāna and
Tantrism.

Atisha, *alias* Dipamkara, born in Vikramapura (East Bengal), was an adept in the Buddhist Tantric practices, and gained the title of Shriijnāna. He was appointed the spiritual Head (Āchāryya) of the Vikramashilā monastery. Nayapāla (c. 1026-45), patron of the physician Chakrapāni Datta, looked upon him as almost a god. Through the efforts of Shriijnāna and the encouragement of Nayapāla, the Tantric view obtained now over the whole of Gauda. Even from far-off countries like Tibet scholars came in numbers to Vikramashilā to obtain instructions of the Tantric school. Hindus and Buddhists were alike eager to worship goddess Tārā (divine energy) and to learn the esoteric practices. People in those days looked upon this Tārā as a Hindu goddess. Shiva and Shakti were then receiving worship throughout the country. Dipamkara's view of Buddhism had much in common with the Hindu Tantrism. In fact, Buddhism lingered on only in name—all its institutions, nay, even its deities, having become already incorporated with those of Hinduism.

Eclecticism
of Mahipāla.

Under these circumstances it became almost impossible for the people to mark out the line of demarcation between Buddhism and Shaivism. The former lost itself in and added to the development of the latter. Even for the propitiation of Buddha, grants of land were made to Brāhmaṇas. Mahipāla was a Buddhist; still, on the day of the sun's passage from Libra to Scorpio or from Aries to Taurus, he performed his ablution in the Ganges and made grants of land to Brāhmaṇas in the hope and belief of thus securing the good-will of Buddha. During his reign there was little or no distinction between Hindus and Buddhists. The current of Buddhism was fast emptying itself into Hinduism and feeding the stream of Shaivism, which had about this time established itself over Bengal.

The Pāla kings had begun to establish temples of Shiva. The famous Rāmapāla¹ (c. 1060-1100) had a tank dug as vast as a lake, and close by it three huge temples of Shiva built where idols of the god were also duly installed. Many Hindu and Buddhist temples of this nature were established in the town of Rāmāvati (present village of Amriti in the district of Malda?), his new capital. Here were towering temples with the images of Avalokiteshwara, Lokeshwara and other Buddhist gods. The form of this Lokeshwara was like that of Shiva, and adorned in the same manner with ornaments of snakes. In the great Vihāra of Jagad-dala at Rāmāvati also there was at this time installed the idol of Lokeshwara Buddha. In the eyes of the common people of this time, Shiva and Lokeshwara looked exactly alike and passed for the same god. Both the Shaivas and the Buddhists of the time were followers of the Tantric school, and the figure of the Buddhist Bhairava passed generally for that of the Hindu Shiva. Owing to this popular confusion, many a Buddhist temple was losing its distinctive denominational character.

And it was now that Tārā and Āryya Tārā were taking their seats as Ādyā Devī on the left side of Shiva. There is a report to the effect that Buddha first entrusted to Shiva the task of protecting his religion from the violation of the Sakas; but, when Shiva was found unequal to it, Buddha transferred the duty to Chāmunda.

¹ During the latter half of the eleventh century Bengal passed through what may be called a period of Triarchy (or Three Independent Kingdoms). The Pālas were rulers in the North, the Varmans in the East, and the Senas in the West. By the beginning of the twelfth century the Senas had made themselves masters of a United Bengal and pushed their arms into Assam, Orissa, and Bihar; and they maintained the hegemony of their dynasty throughout the century till its close, when they fell before Moslem attacks.

It is clear that Buddhism was gradually passing into Shaivism.

The Pāla
kings com-
pared to
Chandra-
shekhara
Shiva.

Shaivism became well established in Rāmavati and Gauda, the capital cities, and this led to the general adoption of its practices throughout the country. In the similes applied to the Pāla kings, the influence of Shaivism is clearly marked. In the copper-plate granted by Madanapāla (c. 1110) we find the following line :—

“Of Vighrahapāla was begotten Mahipāla, as glorious as Chandra-shekhara Shiva.”¹

Thus Shaivism found its way even into the inscriptions of professedly Buddhist rulers. The Pāla Emperors were Buddhists, while their wives became attached to Hinduism. From the above-mentioned copper-plate, we learn that Queen Chitramatikā had the *Mahābhārata* recited to her by a certain Brāhmaṇa named Vateshwara Swāmin, and as remuneration granted him a piece of land in the name of Buddha Bhattāraka of divine attributes. Even in the royal zenana Hindu customs were being practised as religiously as in a strict Hindu family. And we have seen, besides, that the difference between Hinduism and Buddhism had already died out. From these facts we may easily infer the trend of the people's socio-religious² life. It was this : Shaivism had overgrown Buddhism ;³ or, the latter had become identified with the former.

¹ “Like a second Chandra-shekhara Shiva, he had the glorious Mahipāla for his son, whose fame was more fragrant than water mixed with sandalwood powder, and whose glories were sung by the joyous people over the whole world.”

² For the archaeology of the period, see Banerji's *Pālas of Bengal*.

³ *Vide* the section on “The Alleged Extinction of Buddhism in India” in *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE TANTRIC LORE OF MEDIEVAL BUDDHISM.

SECTION I.—MAHĀYĀNIC MYTHOLOGY.

It was the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna branch that developed what may be called Tantric Buddhism. In course of time a branch shot out from this sect with the tenets of Guhya Dharma (occult religion), and later on another branch under the name of Mantrayāna. From this last also, by and by, there sprang again first Kālachakra and then Vajrayāna.

In the middle of the seventh century, Hiuen-Tsang found the predominance of Tantrism in Buddhism. For a long while before this the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna sects had been quarrelling with each other. The Shramanas of the first sect inveigled against the second, and denounced it clearly as having brought about the ruin of genuine Buddhism.

The Mādhyamika sect of Mahāyānists first produced religious unification in the country by being the connecting link between Hinduism and Buddhism. It was again this sect that indirectly helped in the downfall of Buddhism. For the Kālachakra and the Vajrayāna sects that grew out of it caused Buddhism to ultimately lose itself in a Tantrism abounding in ceremonial forms and observances. The compiler of *Sarva Darshana* has assigned Shunyavāda (the theory of the void) as

The Void.

the kernel of the Mādhyamika religion. The Mahāyānists have drawn a complex picture of the creation of the Universe by fancying a Mahā Shunya (great void) beyond and above the Shunya, and again many other things beyond it.

The Ādi Buddha.

The Shramanas of the Mahāyāna sect have discussed the theory of creation after the manner of the Hindu Purānists. They have replaced the formless Maheshwara—of the form of the void—by an Ādi (First) Buddha and with his help have thrown open the door to the realm of creation. They have traced the visible universe from this Ādi Buddha, an embodiment of "the absolute void".

The Buddhas, the Shaktis and the Bodhisattvas.

The Mahāyānists have taken pains to establish the antiquity of their religious view by tracing it through many Dhyāni Buddhas like Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheshwara and the other Hindu Purāṇic gods, to the Ādi or Original Buddha, who is "all void," the state that existed before the universe came into being. Nay, not content with this, they have even fancied Shaktis (personified energies and wives) to these Buddhas and have thus made their pantheon a complex one. And to make it more complex, they have created Bodhisattvas¹ out of those ascetics who have, by virtue of their meditation and devotion, become entitled to the attainment of the real state of Buddha. Thus we have got three orders of divinities—the Buddhas, the Buddha Shaktis and the Bodhisattvas—which have given diversity to mediæval Buddhism.

We give below a list² of the several Buddhas, Buddha Shaktis and the Bodhisattvas :—

¹ The being that acquires Bodhi (i.e. the knowledge that confers the state of Buddha, "the Enlightened") is so called, i.e. a Buddha *in posse*.

² Vide Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp. 25, 42, 102.

<i>Dhyāni Buddha.</i>	<i>Buddha-Shakti.</i>	<i>Bodhisattvas.</i>
(1) Vairocana	Vajradhātvisvarī	Samantrabhadra
(2) Aksobhya	Lochanā	Vajrapāni
(3) Ratna Sambhava	Māmaki	Ratnapāni
(4) Amitābha	Pāṇḍarā	Padmapāni Avalokiteshwara
(5) Amogha Siddhi	Tārā	Vishvapāni

According to Mahāyānism men can gradually rise, by ^{Human} virtue of their spiritual culture, to the attainment of the ^{Buddhas.} state of gods. Men who have thus attained the state of Buddha are said to be "Human Buddhas," and the names of seven such Buddhas are found on record. These are—Vipashyi, Sikhi, Vishwabhu, Krakuchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāshyapa and Shākyamuni.

Thus the Buddhist pantheon was growing in extent with the addition of Buddhas, Buddha-Shaktis and Bodhisattvas. After the manner of the Purāṇic Hindus who had managed to raise the number of the Vedic gods from thirty-three to as many crores (1 crore = 10 millions), the Buddhist gods also were multiplied considerably. The imitation did not stop there. Like Hindu gods, the Buddhist ones also had their images made and installed.

SECTION II.—THE COMMON FACTOR¹ IN NEO-HINDUISM AND NEO-BUDDHISM.

(a) *Bodhisattvas.*

A Buddhist god, named Avalokiteshwara,² was held ^{The importance of} in special esteem among the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna ^{Avalokiteshwara.}

¹ See the chapter on "Sino-Japanese Buddhism and Neo-Hinduism" in *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*.

² Vide Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp. 54-55, etc. An analysis of the attributes and forms of all the Bodhisattvas would indicate that the features of the neo-Hindu deities, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Shiva, can be ascribed to one or other of these. This explains why the mind of mediæval India was fast obliterating the distinctions between Mahāyānism and Purāṇism.

sect. It is questionable if Buddha himself ever received the same amount of homage at their hands. Fa Hien as well as Hiuen-Tsang saw many an image of this Avalokiteshwara. This god with two others named Prajñā-pāramitā and Mañjuśrī, exercised undisputed sway from Muttra and Central India to Bihar and Bengal. Even Emperor Harṣa himself is known to have offered prayers to Bodhisattva Avalokiteshwara.¹ From the account of Hiuen-Tsang we learn that a large number of the images of this god were standing about the celebrated Bodhi tree of Gaya. The Buddhists of Eastern India remembered this god and offered prayers to him and begged his grace while taking their seats, sitting down to dinner or going to bed. Nālandā also abounded with images of this god. Inside the Vihāra here, exactly in the centre, was an image of his, of short stature, holding a lotus flower in full bloom in his hand, and aloft on his head, and enshrouded by his hair, the figure of Amitābha Buddha. People in general held this idol in great esteem and reverence.

The location of Amitābha Buddha on the head of the image of Avalokiteshwara reminds the Hindus of and makes them hold it to be the figure of Śaṃkara (Śhiva) holding on his head the goddess Gaṃgā.

In *Sādhana-mālā Tantra* Khasarpana Lokeshwara has been described as "having an effulgent body like crores of moons, with long matted hair on his head, on which, like the crown, is seated Amitābha. He is decorated with all sorts of ornaments, and is lying down on a sofa placed above the moon, which is in its turn placed on a lotus representing the universe. He has a

¹ See Waddell's *Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita and his Consort Tārā the Saviouress* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1894).

smiling face and is twice eight years old. His right hand is in the posture of pronouncing benediction and in the left he is holding a lotus with the stalk. He is jovial with the use of nectar streaming down from his palms. Below him is the glorious Potalaka, who dwells in the Achalodara, whose face is turned upwards, who has a large belly and is very lean, whose complexion is very white, who has an elongated face, whose eyes are genial with kindness, who is intoxicated with the passion of love, but is very calm, and who is decorated with various ornaments. Behind him is Târâ and on his right-hand side is Sudhanvâ Kumâra. Here Târâ is shyâma (of dark complexion), holding a lotus with the stalk in her left hand and displaying the palm of her right adorned with various ornaments and bending down, as it were, under the weight of a pair of breasts revealing her blooming youth. Sudhanvâ Kumâra, again, is standing with folded hands. His complexion is like that of gold. He is of the form of Kumâra (Kârtikeya, the god of war) and adorned with all sorts of ornaments and holding a book under his left arm-pit. On the west is Bhrikuti and on the north Hayagrîva. Here Bhrikuti is represented as having four hands and three eyes, of golden complexion and with matted hair on his head. He is holding a tridandi (it should properly be tridanda, three staves, representing the control of thought, speech and action, the person who carries these staves being called tridandi) and a Kaman-dalu (water-pot, such as the ascetics carry) in his left hand, and in his right is carrying a rosary of beads showing the attitude of prayer. Hayagrîva is crimson-coloured and of short stature. He has a long belly, the bright upturned hair of his head is reddish brown, and a snake is representing his sacred thread. The complexion of his beard is more reddish brown. . . .

Parapher-
nalia of
Mahâyânist
Pantheon.

He has three eyes, and all of them are red and circular and his eyebrows are contracted as if in a frown. He is clothed in a tiger's skin and holds a club as weapon (in his left hand), the right hand being set in the attitude of prayer. All these are standing ready and prompt to follow up the slightest hints through the eyes of their master."

From the above we learn that Khasarpana Lokeshwara or Avalokiteshwara is as effulgent as ten million moons; and amidst the locks of matted hair on his head is seated the image of Amitābha. Avalokiteshwara is seated in the particular posture known as Padmāsana (in which the statues of Buddha are invariably represented) and is about sixteen years old. Close by him Sudhanvā Kumāra is standing with folded hands. He has a golden complexion and a large belly. On the right-hand side is the goddess Tārā in the full bloom of youth. She is crimson coloured and is holding a blue lotus in her left hand. On the west in the standing posture is Bhrikuti of three eyes and four hands and with a profusion of matted hair on his head. He is holding a tridanda and a kamandalu in his hands. And crimson-coloured Hayagrīva of a long belly and three eyes, clad in a tiger's skin and wearing a snake as his sacred thread, is standing on the north.

The Ārya
Avalokite-
shwara and
the Khasar-
pana Loke-
shwara.

From these descriptions we get a glimpse into the Tantric pantheon of Buddhism. Tārā, Bhrikuti, Hayagrīva and the like seem to be the courtiers of Avalokiteshwara. In the treatise known as *Sādhana-mālā Tantra* detailed accounts are to be found of the Ārya Avalokiteshwara and the Khasarpana Lokeshwara. These are but two names of one and the same deity.¹ The Mahāyāna sect used to worship all these gods.

¹ And some have clearly applied the name "Khasarpana-Avalokiteshwara".—Das's *Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow*, p. 18.

In some places images of this beautiful Lokeshwara god are found with four hands and three eyes.

The form in which Lokeshwara Buddha is contemplated.

In Mayurbhanj, according to Vasu, Lokeshwara has four hands and three eyes. He has matted hair on his head from amidst which a moon shines. Snakes form the ornaments on his person. In two of his hands he holds a rosary and a Kamandalu, and the other two are raised by way of cheering the votaries and granting them boons. He is seated in the particular posture known as Padmāsana under the Bodhi tree.

This form of Lokeshwara, it must be said, is a distinct copy of the Hindu god Mahādeva. The Tantric Buddhists installed such images of Lokeshwara, offered worship to him and held festivities in his honour.

In Buddhist temples is to be found the image of Manjushrī¹ on the right-hand side of the idol of Avalokiteshwara. We quote below the description that is given of him in *Sādhana-mālā Tantra* :—

"One's own self (identical with the god on whom it is concentrated—in this case Manjushrī) is to be contemplated as of yellow complexion, performing the Vyākhyāna mudrā (a sign made by intertwining the fingers of both the hands in religious worship) and adorned with jewels. He wears a crown set with gems and is holding a lotus in his left hand. He is seated on a throne with the image of Akṣobhya placed on the crown of his head. On his right hand is standing with folded hands Sudhanvā Kumāra, sprung from the Vija (a mystic syllable representing a deity and symbolizing his powers) of Hoom, resplendent with various ornaments, wearing a jewelled crown and holding under his arm-pit a book dealing with all religions. On the left is Jamāri of dark complexion, sprung from the Vija of Hoom, of disfigured face and upturned and tawny coloured hair, holding a

The form in which Manjushrī has to be contemplated.

¹ Vide Getty, p. 95.

club in his hand and bedecked with jewels. To his south and north are standing Chandra-prabhā and Surya-prabhā respectively. In the east is Vairochana, in the west Ratna-sambhava, in the north Amitābha, and in the south Amoghasiddhi. And in the south-east and the three other corners are Lochanā, Māmaki, Pāndarā and Tārā."

Buddhists worshipped Manjushri of this description and attended by all these Buddhist idols. Manjushri of yellow complexion and seated on the throne; lovely Sudhanvā-Kumāra with a book under his arm-pit; Jamāri of disfigured face and dark complexion, and Vairochana, Ratna-Sambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, as well as Lochanā, Māmaki, Pāndarā and Tārā; this host of Mahāyānic deities was more or less parallel to, and could be easily assimilated with, the prevailing Purāṇic gods and goddesses.

(b) *Tārā*.

The image of the goddess Tārā is generally found on the left side of that of Lokeshwara of three eyes and four hands, of white colour, with a profusion of matted hair on the head and seated under the Bodhi tree. In many Buddhist Vihāras these images were installed. Although the ordinary place of Tārā is on the left side of Lokeshwara, yet in some places her image has been found on his right-hand side. Owing to different names this Tārā is found to be divided into several classes such as—Nīla Saraswatī Tārā, Āryā Tārā, Jangalī Tārā, Vajra Tārā, etc. The female figure named as Nīla Saraswatī Tārā is held in deep reverence by the Yogāchāra sect of Tibet. The following description is found of this Saraswatī in *Swatantra Tantra*:—

"On the western side of Meru (Pamir) is the great lake of Cholanā where was born Nīla Saraswatī Tārā."

¹ Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj.

The figure of Tārā was held in great esteem among the Mahāyānists. Hiuen-Tsang saw one such image in the monastery of Nālandā, where worship was offered and festivities held with great pomp. He took care to leave an account of this idol.

"To the north of a figure of Buddha—2 or 3 li, in a Vihāra, constructed of brick—is a figure of Tārā Bodhisattva. This figure is of great height and its spiritual appearance very striking. Every fast-day of the year large offerings are made to it. The kings and ministers and great people of the neighbouring countries offer exquisite perfumes and flowers, holding gem-covered flags and canopies, whilst instruments of metal and stone resound in turns, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps. These religious assemblies last for seven days."

An under-current of the Gambhīrā festivities is found on observation to be stealthily flowing beneath the rituals and ceremonials that were observed in connexion with the worship and festival of Tārā. On the day of festival the Buddhists would worship and make offerings to her, and in this kings and ministers and the people generally took part alike. Various kinds of music added to the grandeur of the occasion, and people from the neighbouring countries attended the places in their tens and thousands, and thus the current of festivities rolled on for seven consecutive days—just the number that the Gambhīrā festival covers. It will thus be seen that in course of time this Ārya Tārā festival passed on into the Shaiva Gambhīrā.

Jangali Tārā is similar to Ārya Tārā. The epithet "Jangali" (lit. relating to a forest) is due to the fact that the Shramanas of the Mahāyāna sect worshipped this goddess with two or four hands in the wilderness. Her description is to be found in the follow-

Ārya Tārā
alias Mahā
Tārā

ing instruction for contemplation quoted from the Buddhist Tantric treatise, *Sādhnamālā* :—

"She has to be contemplated as of white colour and two or four hands and as being all white, with matted hair on her head as crown. She is clad in white, adorned with white ornaments and white snakes and seated on the couch of truth. Of the four hands the principal two are engaged in playing on a lyre; of the other two the left is holding a white snake and the right is set in the Mudrā (attitude) of Abhaya (hope and reassurance). She is encircled by a halo resembling the glow of the moon."

Vajra Tārā.

Vajra Tārā was worshipped by the Mahāyānists. It is this goddess who in some parts of India has come to be known as Chandī. In *Sādhana Samuchchaya*, a treatise on Buddhist Tantrism, the following description is found :—

"She has to be contemplated as seated firm on a moon as throne fixed on a lotus representing the universe, in the centre of the circle of the Mātrikās (lit. mothers, sixteen goddesses such as Padmā, Gaurī, etc.). She has eight hands and four faces of white, dark, yellow and red colours and all turned a little to the left, and furnished with three eyes. She is decorated with all sorts of ornaments. The glow of her complexion is like that of gold and she has a majestic appearance blooming with the signs of maidenhood. The halo of her person is blood-red, and four Buddhas are set on her crown. Close by her is a couch of the thunder-bolt. In three of her right hands are a thunder-bolt, a dart and a snake, and the fourth one is set in the attitude of conferring boons. And on the fore-fingers of the four left hands are a lotus, a bow, a thunder-bolt as a guiding hook (ankusha) and another as a noose."

In the Nepālese edition of *Sādhnamālā Tantra* the

following description is found of Kurukullā Devī, who Kurukullā
Devi. is also a personified energy of Buddha :—

"She has to be contemplated as of crimson complexion, seated on a red lotus and dressed in red. Her crown also is of crimson colour. She has four hands. Of the two left, the upper is set in the attitude of giving assurance and the lower is holding a quiver set with jewels; of the two right the upper one is holding a bow with a set arrow and the lower is pulling to the ear the floral string of an arrow which is also made of the blossoms of the red lotus."

Beside these the pantheon of the Mahāyāna sect contained many other gods and goddesses. The female form of Dharma is also due to their fancy. Figures of Ārya, Dharma
Devi or Ādyā
Devi, the
presiding
goddess of the
Gambhīrā. Dharma as a goddess have been discovered in the Mahābodhi of Nepal and Vadasāhi in Mayurbhanj. And as such Dharma has got the names of Prajñā-pāramitā, Dharma Devī, Ārya Tārā and Gayeshwarī. She is also known as Ādi Dharma Devī and Ādyā Devī. It is this Ārya Tārā or Ādyā Devī in whose honour festivities are held in the present-day Gambhīrā. The real form of the Buddhist goddess Tārā is to be found in the following quotation from *Swatantra Tantra* :—

"She has to be contemplated as three-eyed, of a dark blue hue, and holding in her two hands a lotus and boons. She is surrounded by a number of Shaktis of many forms and diverse colours. She has a smiling face and her ornaments are made of sparkling gems and pearls. Her feet, resembling two full-blown lotuses, are resting on a jewelled footstool."

Again, in *Sādhnamālā Tantra* we meet with the Mahottari
Tārā. following description of Mahottari Tārā. "She has to be contemplated as of a dark-blue colour with two hands. Her right is set in the attitude of granting boons and her left is holding the stalk of a glorious lotus. She

is decorated with all sorts of ornaments and is reclining on a sofa made of moons and lotuses."

It will now be clear that the Buddhists were investing with forms, according to their fancies, the gods and goddesses of Tantrism, and devising their suitable forms of worship and festivities. It was this Tantrism that brought about the *rapprochement* of the Mahâyânists with the Purânists, whose feminine divinities were analogues or duplicates of these Tārās.

SECTION III.—DRAMA AND TANTRISM.

Nāgânanda
(c. 640).

From the time of Fa Hien down to that of Hiuen-Tsang, there was a steady spread of the Tantric influence among the followers of Buddhism. In course of time there developed out of Mahâyânism the Mantrayâna and the Vajrayâna-sects. The dramatic works of the period testify to the Tantric influence.

The drama *Nāgânanda*, composed during the reign of Emperor Harṣa (seventh century), indicates that Tantrism had become well established in upper India.

Jimutavāhana was a Buddhist while his consort Mālavatī was an ideal Shaiva. She worshipped Gaurī of all attributes. On one occasion Jimutavāhana lost his life, but was restored to it through the grace of Shiva and Durgā (Gaurī). At this time Hiuen-Tsang (629-45) noticed extensive worship and festivities held in honour of gods like Avalokiteshwara, who, however, looked like Shiva in appearance, and also of goddesses like Tārā and Āryya Tārā looking like Gaurī. After this, about the middle of the eighth century, Lalitāditya defeated Yashovarman, King of Kanauj, and took with him to Kashmir the renowned poet Bhavabhūti. It was this poet who was the author of the Sanskrit drama *Mālatī-Mādhava*, in which we find clear proofs of the

sway which Tantrism exercised about that time over the people.

The plot of *Mālati-Mādhava* starts with the spring festival otherwise known as the Madanotsava (Cupid's festival). On one such occasion the scholar Mādhava saw the minister's daughter Mālātī passing by on the back of an elephant. Her eyes also fell on him and, as luck would have it, they loved each other at first sight. They were, however, very differently situated, and Mādhava who could, on no account, aspire to the hands of his beloved, threw himself in despair on the mercy of one Kāmandakī, who was a Buddhist nun. She gave him hopes of a union with the minister's girl, but could not effect this. Now, in greater despair, Mādhava resolved to take recourse to some Tantric means as likely to be more efficacious in securing Mālātī. Hard by on the cremation-ground there was a temple dedicated to the service of the goddess Chāmundā, and there was in her service at this time a Bhairavī (a female anchorite who has, according to the Tantric system, dedicated her life to the worship of Bhairava, a name of Shiva), named Kapāla Kundalā, who wore about her neck what may be called a garland of human skulls. She applied herself to the practice of Tantric rituals on the cremation-ground with raw flesh and the like. Bhairava (masculine of Bhairavī) Aghoraghanta intended to sacrifice a chaste maiden before the goddess and then to sit in meditation on her corpse. And with this purpose in view he managed to bring the minister's girl Mālātī to the place of cremation in the required guise. Somehow Mādhava came to have an inkling of his mind and succeeded in taking away the life of Aghora before he could realize his heinous object. He could not, however, find out the whereabouts of his lady-love, and in the course of the search reached the Vindhya hills. Fortune smiles upon him now and

Mālātī-
Mādhava
(c. 730).

here he met a Buddhist nun pursuing the Tantric system. Her name was Saudāminī. And at length through her magic powers and the spiritual strength that she had gained through abstract contemplation, he became united with his Mālatī. The influence of Tantric Buddhism peeps out through incidents like this ; and under its spell, it will also be noticed, the commandment of Buddhism as to the abstention from killing, nay, dealing cruelly with any creatures, seems to have become a dead letter.

Chāmundā was worshipped by Buddhists of the Tantric school.

Chāmundā also came to be an object of worship with the Buddhists of the Tantric school. In the Tantric scriptures of Buddhism accounts are found of many Buddhist Shaktis. Chāmundā was at this time regarded as a Buddhist goddess. The following description of her is to be found in *Sārada-Tilaka* :—

"She has to be contemplated as of blood-red colour, wearing a garland of human heads and holding in her hands a spear, a sword, a human skull and the bone of the forehead." As to her hands, in some places we are told she has eight, in others ten, and in still others sixteen.

Development of the Gambhīrā.

Thus the deities of Hindu Tantric pantheon were being worshipped by the Tantrists of Buddhism. The practice of worshipping deities sitting on a corpse and the other Tantric rites are akin to the Mashāna dance and the "corpse dance" of the Shaiva Gambhīrā. The ceremonies of the Gambhīrā festival bear ample traces of the Tantric influence on it. The Tārā of Buddhist Tantrism is similar in character to the Kālī and Tārā and the other Shaktis of the Hindu Tantrism.¹ Chāmundā also belongs to the same category.

¹ See Niveditā's *Kālī the Mother*, and Avalon's *Principles of Tantra* and other works.

CHAPTER XIV.

RĀMĀI PANDIT, A FOLK-MINSTREL OF DECADENT BUDDHISM.

SECTION I.—TANTRISM OF THE BENGALEE BUDDHIST MISSIONARY IN TIBET (ELEVENTH CENTURY).

IN the early part of the eleventh century, Tantrism of both the Buddhist and the Shaiva forms obtained unopposed in Gauda. From a study of the life of Atisha Shrijñāna we may have a glimpse into the Buddhist Tantrism and the socio-religious condition generally of those times. It was Buddhism as practised by Atisha which was the prevailing form of the Buddhist creed in Eastern India. He followed the Vajrayāna and the Mantrayāna divisions of the Mahāyāna branch of Buddhism.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there flourished in Eastern India such Buddhist preceptors and *minnesingers* as Rāmāi, Setāi, Nilāi, Kāmsāi, Hādipā and Kānipā; and there were composed such folk-songs as the *Lays of Mahāpāla*, *Lays of Mānikachandra*, and *Lays of Govindachandra*, and the *Shunya Purāna* of Rāmāi Pandit.

The Bengal of this period presents a good many instances of self-denial and indifference to the world and all it can give. The life of Dipamkara or Shrijñāna or Atisha (c. 1040) is a mirror in which we may see a

faithful image of Buddhism as it prevailed in this age. It was this religious trend that found expression in later times in the *Shunya Purāṇa* of Rāmāi. Indeed, the religious ideal set forth in this work may be said to be a slightly modified form of that which Dipamkara had professed and inculcated.

Meditation on
Tārā.

Shrījñāna worshipped Tārā and in all his doings received his inspiration from her. When it was arranged that he should go to Tibet, with a view to ascertain if he should do this, and to know beforehand if good or evil was likely to accrue from it, he stepped into the temple of the goddess, and, placing before the image a *Suvarṇa-maṇḍala* (golden orb) as a necessary ingredient of worship, offered prayers to her. Tārā appeared before him in a vision with this instruction: "Go to Mukhen, the resort of pilgrims, which is not far off from Vikramashilā. There you will meet a female mendicant. Tell her of your wishes and she will give you proper advice."

As was the custom in those days, with a handful of cowries (conch-shells, smallest units of currency) Atisha set out for the temple of Tārā at Vikramashilā with the object of consulting the Buddhist mendicant. He also carried with him presents for the goddess, including a golden orb. On his arrival there, he placed these articles before the idol and gave the cowries to the Yoginī (female devotee) of the temple. He then consulted her as to the result of his intended visit to Tibet. The female devotee replied that it would be good, but she added that he was to meet his death there.

Worship of
ajra Tārā.

From Vikramashilā Shrījñāna prepared to visit Vajrasana. Āchāryya (preceptor) Janashrī advised him to look for the instructions of a certain Yoginī of the temple of Vajra Tārā on this point. While proceeding accordingly to the above temple he met with a Yoginī

of resplendent form and consulted her also as to the consequences of his intended visit to Tibet. She also made the same reply as her sister. Then, when he had reached the temple of Vajra Tārā, his wonder knew no bounds on the Yoginī of this place asking him for the handful of cowries which Janashrī had advised him to take with him. But a greater surprise was in store for him, for he soon came to learn that the Yoginī he had encountered on his way was no other than the goddess Vajra Tārā herself.

Atisha took along with him into Tibet Nāgacho, Lochabha, Bhumigarbha, Bhumisamgha, Viryyachandra¹ and a few other natives of Tibet.

On their way they were encountered by a troop of pilgrims who belonged to the Shaiva, the Vaiṣṇava and the Kāpila creeds. These hired a band of eighteen robbers to assassinate Atisha and to plunder his bag and baggage. At the very sight of them he read their minds and uttered some incantation by touching the ground and making gestures with his fingers. This non-plussed the robbers and caused them to be spell-bound. It is reported that it was through the grace of Tārā herself that Atisha became master of this supernatural power.²

The Buddhist
Tantric pro-
cess of hypno-
tism.

On his arrival in Tibet, he performed his ablutions in a tank and went through the ceremony of offering water, etc., to the manes of deceased ancestors. Nāgacho asked what all this meant, and he said he was offering water to the manes of the deceased.³ He also

¹ Brother of Atisha.—*Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow*, p. 69.

² The goddess Tārā is believed to possess the secret of detecting and catching robbers by certain charms.—*Ibid.*, p. 69.

³ Atisha said that he was offering water to the Pretas.—*Ibid.*, p. 72.

instructed Nāgacho in the worship of the god Khasarpana.

Supernatural powers attainable by Buddhist Tantrism. Assumption of various forms by the Buddhist yogi.

From this incident in the life of Atisha we get a fair idea of the trend of Buddhism that obtained later in the time of Rāmāi Pandit. We learn further that to every temple of Buddhist goddesses was attached a Shramani, or female devotee. We also obtain an idea of the hold that the practice of the Yoga system then had upon the minds of the people from the supernatural powers ascribed to a certain disciple of Atisha. This man, while bidding adieu to his preceptor, took his bag for alms and other articles, and, in order to show his mastery of the yoga practices, he quickly transformed himself into a terrible tiger and devoured a corpse that was lying close by. Then, in the twinkling of an eye, he assumed his own form again and stood before his preceptor. Thereupon Atisha remarked: "Now you can practise what form of worship you like".

Although Tantrists themselves, the Mahāyānists forbade the practice of the Tantric system.

The system of Dharma-worship inculcated by Rāmāi Pandit was based on such views of Tantrism, but nowhere did he acknowledge this in words. Dipamkara Shrijñāna also did not regard his worshipping and offering oblation of water to Lokeshwara, etc., and his art of making the robber spell-bound, as Tantric affairs; for on one occasion Atisha observed before Gyātsen: "Practising the Tantric system is not productive of good to Buddhists, nor is it proper for them".¹

SECTION II.—HINDU ELEMENTS IN RĀMĀI'S BUDDHISM.

The worship of Triratna-murti was in vogue in Bengal when Rāmāi Pandit preached his Dharma worship. The Trimurti (three figures) consisted

¹ Atisha said: "It was not good for a Buddhist priest to have learnt a Tantric charm from a heretic".—*Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 70.

of Buddha, Dharma and Samgha, and was then known as Triratna (three jewels). Prior to this time, Dharma had a female form of sixteen years of age. Gradually, however, this form was discarded, and in a male form Dharma took his seat on the right side of Buddha, while Samgha, as a female, became established on his left.¹

"Images of the gods and goddesses that were worshipped (during the reign of the Pāla dynasty) have been discovered in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Mention has been made of these deities also in the *Shunya Purāna*."² About this time the worship of Mahādeva, Lokeshwara and Mahākāla was especially in force among Buddhists of the Tantric school. All of these three gods have received special consideration in the *Shunya Purāna*. Images of Mahākāla have been found among the relics of the Pāla Empire. Hindu Shāktas and Buddhists of the Tantric school alike recognized and provided for the worship of Mahākāla.

We find that in all the Buddhist Tantric treatises³ the descriptions of the system of worship, etc., are introduced by a meditation on the Shunya or Void. The *Shunya Purāna* of Rāmāi also is based on this meditation. It is with the Shunya that he has started his chapter on creation. Prior to creation he has conceived Dharma to have sprung from Shunya; and from this Dharma he has derived the second place

¹ Such a joint image of the Triratna has been discovered in Mahābodhi at Gaya.—Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 55, plate xxvi.

² Preface to *Shunya Purāna*, published by the Bangiya Sāhitya-Parisad, Calcutta.

³ *Sādhana-māla*, *Sādhana-samuchchaya*, *Sādhana-kalpātā* and other works of the Buddhist Tantric school, the old MSS. on *Chandī*, *Manasā* and *Jagannātha Vijaya* and the *Lays of Vānars* (minstrels) all have references to the Shunya, Dharma, Ādyā, etc.

and, one after another, all the other deities, and then he has provided for their worship with that of Dharma. Rāmāi has introduced Hindu deities along with the Mahāyānist Triratnamurti and the Shunya. Thus he says:—

Eclecticism in
Rāmāi's god-
lore.

"Bow to the all-powerful Master, who is Niranjana (lit. spotless, hence perfect) and formless."

"By a beautiful process of evolution, He manifested Himself in three forms, which, though different, are but one and the same."

"From a change in the Immutable sprang Dharma of white form. (Thus) Dharma of white complexion assumed a figure."

"'Naw' is the symbol of the worshipful Niranjana, 'Aw' of the worshipful Rambhā (Shakti), 'Saw' of Viṣṇu, and 'Maw' of Mahādeva.

"'Maw' and 'Aw' combined means the union of Shiva and Shakti—which destroys fears, which is without a beginning and is the master of Time. Clearly beyond forms and changes is the Shunya, whom the Immortals adore."

Vedic formulae
in Shunya
Purāṇa.

Deities of the Hindu pantheon are thus mixed up with those of the Buddhist in the *Shunya Purāṇa*. Rāmāi's Trimurti is at once Mahāyānic and Purāṇic. The mystic syllable "Om" of the Vedists was also adopted by the mediæval Buddhist *minnesingers*. Rāmāi has sung: "The most heinous sins of the household fly away from as far as the sound of "Om" of Dharma reaches" (i.e. the uttering of "Om" destroys all sins).

Not only "Om," but even the Gāyatrī (a short but significant hymn to the Sun representing the Creator, which the Brāhmaṇa repeats silently thrice a day) of Hinduism was gradually adopted by Buddhism, and the following Gāyatrī of Dharma was composed:—

"Om : Let us meditate on the Siddhadeva (the perfect God), Whose religion is perfect (Siddhadharma), Who is Bhargadeva (the repository of all light and glory), Who is worshipful and upon Whom the mind should be fixed, that He may be pleased to direct our understanding towards the Siddhadharma."

SECTION III.—THE WORK OF RĀMĀI AS PREACHER (TWELFTH CENTURY?).

Rāmāi introduced the particular form of worship of Dharma known as Dharma's Gājan. He preached it to all people without distinction of caste or creed, and, as the Buddhist Bhikṣus of yore had done, he travelled from place to place for the propagation of his religion. Thus it is said :—

"Then, with the object of establishing (the religion of) Dharma throughout the sea-girt earth, Rāmāi travelled in various directions. (He declared that) Niranjana (i.e. Dharma) was equally pleased with the worship offered by people of all castes, and thus he tried to establish the religion of Dharma among the thirty-six castes."

For the propagation of the worship of Dharma, Rāmāi introduced the Dharma-pada, or Dharma-pādukā (footprints or sandals of Dharma, also called Buddha-pada), in the place of his image, and enjoined that worship should be offered to it. Thus he says in the course of his own account in his *Shukya Purāṇa*:—

"I have introduced the footprints, glorious as the lotus, for which reason Niranjana has taken offence with me."¹

¹ The process of making the Dharma-pādukā is to be found in the MS. treatise known as *Dharma-pūjā-paddhati*, referred to several times. There it is said that the picture of a quadrilateral fort with four gates should be drawn with panchagundi (five powders),

Songs in the
Shunya
Purāna.

The mantras (incantations) of Rāmāi's *Shunya Purāna* do not really form the details of the worship of Dharma. They were simply sung by the Dharma sannyāsis at the conclusion of every function making up the worship. The *Dharma-pujā-paddhati* by Rāmāi is quite a different treatise. The worship of Dharma was propagated in Bengal by Rāmāi in accordance with the system laid down in this work. The songs that were sung during the worship were based on *Shunya Purāna*.

Let us now examine the process by which Rāmāi evolved his story of creation from the *Shunya* and introduced the Mantrayāna view regarding the Buddhist deities.

The following are the several chapters of Rāmāi's *Shunya Purāna* :—

The Contents
of *Shunya*
Purāna.

(1) Beginning of creation; (2) Deluge; (3) Tikā-pāvana, or purifying with a mark; (4) Plucking of flowers; (5) Worship of Dharma by Harish-chandra; (6) Inspection of the room; (7) Inspection of the room by Dānapati (master of gifts); (8) Opening of the door; (9) Purifying with the urine of the cow; (10) Putting the sacred mark; (11) Yama-purāna, or the legend of Yama, the lord of death; (12) Conversation with the messenger of Yama; (13) Conversation with the lord of death; (14) The Vaitaraṇī (the river Styx of the Hindus); (15) The Place of Dharma; (16) Adhivāsa (ceremony introducing a festival or holy function); (17)

inside which Vāsuki, the King of Serpents, should be represented in the form of a circle. And inside this circle a black tortoise should be drawn, upon the back of which a pair of footprints should be pictured with white sandal-paste. And it is this pair that is known as Dharma-pādukā. The modern Dharma-pandits regard this process as the Lāusenī system of Dharma-worship. In Bhotan and adjacent countries this pair of footprints is also known as Dharma-pada as well as Dharma-pādukā.

Vāramati-pujā : (a) Vedāmanui ; (b) Burning of resin ; (c) Equipping the horse ; (d) Vāramāsi ; (18) Sandhyā pāvana ; (19) Manui ; (20) Dhenkimangalā ; (21) Gambhārī-mangalā ; (22) Ghāta-muktā ; (23) Abode of Dharma ; (24) Invocation of shrines ; (25) Ablution of Dharma ; (26) Dressing of Dharma ; (27) Offering of flowers (with the hands joined together) ; (28) The abode of Gods ; (29) Mukta-mangalā ; (30) Worship of Dharma ; (31) Bath of Deliverance ; (32) Chāla ; (33) Breaking of vows ; (34) Purifying with the urine of the cow ; (35) Putting the sacred mark ; (36) Performance of the homa (offering of clarified butter, etc., into the sacred fire) and the sacrifice ; (37) The Vaitaraṇī ; and (38) The Manui of the Goddess.¹

SECTION IV.—THE CREATION STORY IN *SHUNYA PURĀNA*.

We give below a short account of the Creation story. According to Rāmāi there was nothing but the Great Void in the beginning. There was then no God, no heaven, no being, nothing of the vegetable kingdom. Then Dharma Niranjana, "having his mind fixed on the Shunya and depending on the Shunya, reflected : 'What am I, the master of illusions, to create?'" (13).

Then sprang Pavana, the wind-god, and of him were begotten the two Anilas. Dharma Niranjana, however, had not embodied himself in a form till now. After the Anilas were born, "the Lord Himself created His own form" (19). Hence "sprang all of a sudden

¹ The functions of "Dharma-sthāna" (or the abode of Dharma), "Performance of the sacrifice," "Tāmradhāraṇa" (holding of copper), "The sacrifice of goats," etc., are found to be observed nowadays. The hymns of *Shunya Purāṇa* are set to music and attended with dance.

re-birth" (20) from the huge body of the Great Void. Then "from His exhalation was born the bird Ullukai" (26), on the back of which the Dharma Niranjana took his seat.¹

Thereafter the goose was begotten of the Ulluka. Then came the tortoise.² When he was found unable to bear Dharma upon his back, then the latter "took off his sacred thread of gold" and flung it into the waters. From this "sprang into being the serpent Vāsuki of thousand hoods"³ (94).

Creation of
the serpent
Vāsuki and of
the Earth.

Then the "filth of the body"⁴ was placed upon the head of Vāsuki, and this was ultimately converted into the Vasumati, or earth. Thereafter Dharma Niranjana, with Ullukai, "left the waters and got up on land," and in the course of his travels through the world, "He wiped off the sweat of one side of His body". And "there sprang into being," all of a sudden, the goddess Ādyā from this sweat". Rāmāi has said that "she bears the names of Ādyā, Durgā and Jayā". This Durgā or primordial energy brought into being the god Kāmadēva (the god of love). All this time Dharma Niranjana was engaged in undivided religious meditation on the banks of the Vallukā river. As advised by

Goddess Ādyā
is begotten of
Dharma.

¹ In the *Rig Veda* the Ulluka has been said to be a messenger of death.

² In the poem *Jagannātha-Vijaya* (Conquest of Jagannātha) this tortoise has been described as "omniscient" and as "the king of tortoises," and creation has been said to have begun from the Shunya.

³ This is found in the *Chandi* of Mānik Datta and *The Salutation-Hymns*.

⁴ This is said in the *Chandi* of Mānik Datta, *The Songs of Viṣṇu* and also in the Gambhīrā hymns.

⁵ This legend is to be found in the *Chandi* of Mānik Datta, in the Gambhīrā hymns, in *Jagannātha-Vijaya*, and also in *The Songs of Viṣṇu*, etc.

Durgā, Kamadeva went there and, by virtue of his powers, succeeded in disturbing the meditation of Dharma, who felt amorously inclined. Then the latter deposited his seed on a vessel, and, stepping into the temple of Ādyā with it, said that he was going to the Vallukā to get a patra (leaf) for her. So he wended his way, leaving, however, his seed, which was mistaken for poison, in the house of Ādyā. Upon this the goddess thought: "I shall make an end to myself by swallowing the poison" (178). The thought was soon translated into action, and the result was that she became quick with child, and, in due course, one after another came out: "Viṣṇu, by tearing asunder the navel" (185); "Brahmā, by piercing the crown of the head" (187), and "Shiva, in the natural way" (187).

Births of
Brahmā,
Viṣṇu and
Maheshwara.

Thus three gods were 'born of the personified primordial energy.' Dharma endowed Shiva with three eyes, using these words: "Shrī Dharma said, 'You have recognized me and thus, though formerly blind of both eyes, you have now become three-eyed'" (198).

Shiva gifted
with three
eyes through
the grace of
Dharma.

Rāmāi has again spoken through the lips of Dharma Niranjana of the marriage of Ādyā with this Maheshwara. Thus, Dharma says (to Ādyā):—

"I say, go on creating thus.

In the next birth Mahesha will marry-you."¹ (221.)

¹The mysterious births of these three gods have been thus told in the *Chandī* of Mānik Datta, in *The Songs of Viṣṇuhari*, and in the work of Brahma Haridāsa. Between the first and the third there is a slight difference: in both of these "Dharma embraced Ādyā and made her sit on his knees". In the MSS. from Orissa also the birth-story of these three gods has been similarly told. In some Hindu works, such as *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, *Devīmāhātmyachandī*, "Madhukaitabhavadha-prakarṇa" (stanzas 83 and 84) and *Kāshikhanda*, Bhagavatī has been said to have borne Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheshwara.

²Mānik Datta has married Ādyā to Shiva. Brahma-Haridāsa has also repeated this. In *Dharma-pujā-paddhati* also Shiva was married to Ādyā.

SECTION V.—FINAL HINDUIZING OF MEDIAEVAL
BUDDHISM.

The chapter of the *Shunya Purāṇa* on Creation has thus been brought to a close. All the different functions, from "the beginning of Creation," are represented partly or fully in the modern Gambhīrā-pandal, in connexion with the Dharma's Gājan, and also with the Gājan of Shiva. In the Dharma's Gājan, the marriage ceremony of Shiva with Ādyā and the giving of dowry are performed with great *éclat*.

A detailed account of the functions and ceremonies composing the Buddhist festival of Dharma's Gājan, which, according to the *Shunya Purāṇa* of Rāmāi, first took place during the rule of the Pāla dynasty, is to be found in *Dharma Mangala*. We find that each of these functions is also observed in the Shaiva Gambhīrā. Rāmāi called Ādyā by the Hindu name of Durgā. Nay, he went to the extent of decorating her with garlands of the java flower (China rose)—a favourite with the Hindu Durgā—and sacrificing goats before her. Hence it is clear that in the time of Rāmāi the worship of the Buddhist deities was converted practically into that of the Hindu Shiva and Durgā. This was done in the following way. At first in Dharma's Gājan, Ādyā sat as the presiding deity, Shiva and the other gods attending as spectators only.¹ Then, when the prediction of Rāmāi to the effect that "Mahesha will marry her (Ādyā) in the next birth" came to be true, Shiva received the worship of the Gājan votaries, with Ādyā as wife on his left side. Here must be sought the be-

¹"(Ādyā) sitting on the ghata (a jar of water symbolizing the infilling power of God in nature) with Shiva, Kārtikeya and Vināyaka (Ganesha) witnessed the dance and listened to the music with eternal happiness."—Mānik Ganguli.

ginnings of the modern Gājan of Dharma and the Gambhīrā of Ādyā, the latter among the Brāhmanic Hindus and the former among the Hinduized Buddhists. These Buddhists had been falling in social estimation for some time, and constitute probably the first layer of "untouchable" depressed classes that has been deposited on the soil of Eastern India.

CHAPTER XV.

PEOPLE'S LIFE IN BENGAL ON THE EVE OF MOSLEM INVASIONS.

SECTION I.—BRĀHMANISM ESTABLISHED (ELEVENTH CENTURY).

UNDER the long rule of the Pala kings, who, ostensibly Buddhist, were really eclectic in matters of faith, the people of Bengal became accustomed to the performance of both Buddhist and Hindu rites. This hybrid trend of socio-religious life became so well established that Brāhmanas of the orthodox school could not, with all their efforts, stamp it out to any appreciable extent. Hence they thought it more expedient to incorporate the deities of the Buddhist Vihāras, either as they were or in some modified form, with those of their own religion; and these borrowed divinities were allowed the same rank as the deities of the Hindu Tantric school. The process did not involve any drastic change. For the Buddhist festivals had adapted themselves to the form the society of those days had assumed; and the rites and ceremonies of the Mahāyāna school had become greatly Hinduized to suit the social organism of the time. Even the little vows and observances practised by tender boys and girls were in keeping with that transformation.

Bengal was then connected in various ways with Tibet, China and the adjacent countries. Owing to this

foreign intercourse,¹ many a god of the Chinese, the Mongols, the Huns and the Burmese also found its way into the Hindu pantheon. The Tantric deities of the Buddhist Vihāras having been recognized by the Hindu Tantric school, the people in general began to forget even the existence of the Vihāras. Thus Viṣṇu, Shiva, Suryya, Tārā and the other gods and goddesses, with their various festivals, became firmly established in Bengal.

The descendants of those Brāhmaṇas who are believed to have settled in Bengal from Kanauj were spreading over the country. The Varman dynasty, descended from some Punjabi royal family, who had, during the declining days of the Pāla Empire in the eleventh century, established their influence in East Bengal, encouraged Vedic Brāhmaṇas hailing from North-Western India to settle in their country. From the title "Vriṣabha Shamkara (Mahādeva) Gaudeshwara (Lord of Gauda)," applied to Shyāmala Varmā in a copper-plate granted by him, it may reasonably be inferred that his house was following the Shaiva creed. Under this dynasty the worship of Viṣṇu and Shiva was held in great esteem, and the people bowed to the Brāhmanic influence.

When such was the state of the country, the Sena dynasty descended from some South Indian settlers who had come in the wake of the Tamil invader Rājendrachola (1025), conquered Bengal and established themselves on the throne. Vijaya-sena (1060-1108) dedicated a temple in his newly-founded capital, Vijayapura,² on

Installation of
Pradyumnesh-
wara Shiva.

¹ Vide the section on "A Melting-pot of Races" in *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*.

² The site of the city and the temple have been identified by the Varendra Research Society at a place ten miles east of Rampur Boalia in Rajshahi.

the banks of the Ganges, to Mahādeva under the name of Pradyumneshwara. Stanzas composed by Umāpati and inscribed on a stone-plate attached to the temple give us a glimpse into those times. Vijaya-sena was a staunch devotee of Shiva, and was called "Vṛiṣabha Shamkara Gaudeshwara". We find from *Shekh Shubhodayā* that he did not take even a sip of water before offering his worship to Shiva.

SECTION II.—FOLK-TRADITION ABOUT CASTES AND CREEDS.

Founding of
Kulinism.

Vijaya-sena was succeeded by his aged son, Vallāla-sena (1109-1120), who is famous in Bengal tradition as the founder of Kulinism—the Hindu institution of Heraldry, on which is based the present-day hierarchy of social grades in Eastern India. But the tradition may be as unfounded as the other one about Ādishura and his importation of Brāhmaṇas from Kanauj into Bengal. He held in esteem the Shaiva Tantric view. We may gather many anecdotes of his life from the *Vallālacharita* of Ānanda Bhatta.¹ When Aniruddha Bhatta became the spiritual preceptor of Vallāla, his faith turned into the channel of Shaivism. The king did not look upon the Buddhists with favour, hence they also did not like him.

Internal dis-
ension among
the several
castes.

Society in Gauda was perturbed over an incident relating to a woman of the Doma (very low in social estimation) caste; and, as a consequence of this, many members of the higher castes ceased to have any connexion with Vallāla. About this time also the census of the Brāhmaṇa and the other castes is said to have

¹ He was at first a follower of Shaivism, his family creed. In his mature years, however, at the instance of a Tantric Buddhist named Simhagiri, he is believed to have adopted the Buddhist view.

been instituted. Vallāla was not favourably disposed towards the Suvārṇa-vaṇikas (goldsmith caste); hence the millionaire merchants and traders were not pleased with him. He vented his spleen upon them by removing them from the pale of the Vaishya caste, and by his orders they were degraded to the extent of being "untouchables." This state of things continues till now, even the water touched by them being considered unworthy of being used by persons of the higher castes.

The people of the ostracized mercantile class, who observed the Buddhist rites and ceremonies, purchased the favour of the Brāhmaṇas and succeeded in entering the pale of Hindu society. It was probably an age when social status was being discussed by every order of people in the country, and this naturally led to dissension over the question as to who were kulīnas (nobility or social aristocracy) and who were not. To the problem of creeds was thus added the problem of castes as to their ranks in society, and the history of their origin and growth. The Ghatakas (professional match-makers) were engaged in compiling the genealogical reference-books (*kula-panjikā*) of the several castes. Dissatisfied with the conduct of Vallāla, his spirited son, Lakṣmaṇa-sena, is said to have retired to Vikramapura in East Bengal and endeavoured to organize a separate society there.

From the epithet "Nihshamka-shamkara Gaudesh-
wara" (lit. Lord of Gauda, who may be compared to Shamkara, i.e. Shiva, and is above all fears) attached to the name of Vallāla, one feels inclined to regard him as a Shaiva. Fascinated by the Tantric practices and the goals said to be attainable by them, the people of the country had long been embracing the Shākta and the Shaiva creed of the Tantric form. The worship of Tārā

Pārāla
Chandi.

was especially in vogue in Gauda.¹ The Pitha (a shrine containing, it is said, a part of the dismembered body of Shiva's wife) of Pātāla Chandī (a village in the present district of Malda) took its origin from a part of the body of Shiva's wife. In *Padma Purāṇa* occurs the line, "Pātāla in Pundra Vardhana," and *Devī Purāṇa* also assigns Pātāla Devī to Pundra Vardhana. Āgama Vāgīsha, in his *Tantrasāra*, has ranked Pundra Vardhana among the fifty-one Pithas; and it is Pātāla Devī that is, according to him, the presiding deity of Pātāla. This shrine of Pātāla was on the banks of the Ganges, to the south of Gauda.

In *Vrihannīla Tantra* it is said that goddess Prachandā flourished in Chandipura, which is, according to this Tantra, one of the fifty-one Pithas. Thus it is said: "Goddess Prachandā, also called Chandī, Chandāvati and Shiva, reside in Chandipura". This Chandipura was a suburb of Valāla's city, and is at present a village in the district of Malda.

It is customary that a Bhairava (a name of Shiva, almost as a correlative of Shakti) should live close to a Shakti in the Pitha place. Accordingly, here also we see that a Shiva of the name of Mandāra resided in Pundra Vardhana. About this time the influence of the Tantrists of the Shaiva-cum-Shakta cult became exceedingly great throughout Bengal. Among the relics recently unearthed, the images of Tantric deities, scattered here and there over the country, greatly out-

¹ In *Shaktisamgama Tantra* it is said that the worship of Tārā obtained unopposed in Gauda. According to *Rudra Yāmala* (a Tantric work), Vashīṣṭha, acting upon the advice of Buddha, brought Tārā Devī from China. In *Kunjikā Tantra* also Tārā Devī has been said to have been imported from a foreign country. Tārā (in her different forms as Āryya Tārā, Vajra Tārā, Banddha Devī, etc.) has been pointed out to be akin to Kālī.

Goddess
Prachandā, or
Chandī.

The Mandāra
Bhairava.

number all others. During the twelfth century the Tantras were chiefly followed in the management and regulation of social affairs. The temples of Chandi, Chāmunda and Vāsuli are even now amply in evidence.

It was not with the lower castes only that Tantrism prevailed so extensively; the Brāhmaṇas also had begun to pay but little heed to the older Vedic rules and injunctions. This led the minister Halāyudha thus to express his regret in his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvaswa* (a treatise on the whole duty of a Brāhmaṇa):—

“In this degenerate Kali or Iron Age, owing to the shortness of life, understanding, energy and devotion, only the study of the *Vedas* is undertaken by the Westerners (i.e. natives of the western part of India); and the Brāhmaṇas of the Rādha and the Varendra country, on the other hand, without studying the *Vedas*, apply themselves to the finding out of the details and the functions of sacrifices and other rites with the help of that branch of the *Vedas* which is known as ‘the settlement of rites and duties,’ but which throws only a sidelight on the meaning of the *Vedas*. Even by this process they cannot arrive at the import of mantras and duties laid down in the *Vedas*, the knowledge of which alone can confer the desired result, and the absence of the knowledge of which is therefore said to be inefficacious.”

The Brāhmaṇas relinquished the Vedic and took to the Tantric way.

Ignorance led the Brāhmaṇas to resort to oppression to keep up their former dignity, and this led Vallāla, it is said, to banish a large number of them from his kingdom, ostensibly as Hindu missionaries among the neighbouring peoples, e.g. of Nepal, Burma and Orissa.

“Sixty were sent into Bhotan and Magadha, and fifty into Utkala and Daranga, and thirty into the country of Sakhi Moranga.” This is the way in which, says the minstrel, the banishment was effected.

Banishment of Brāhmaṇas.

This procedure struck terror to some extent into the heart of the Brāhmanic community.

SECTION III.—HALĀYUDHA THE SOCIOLOGIST AND OTHER MEN OF LETTERS (TWELFTH CENTURY).

Synthetic
Treatises on
socio-re-
ligious
problems.

When the germs of social revolution and of internal dissension among the several castes were developing, Lakṣmaṇa-sena (1120-70) ascended the throne of Gauda, which since became known as Lakṣmaṇāvatī. The epithets of "Arirāja-sudana-shamkara" (like Shamkara or Shiva the destroyer of the chief of enemies) and "Parama-Vaiṣṇava" (a staunch devotee of Viṣṇu) lead one to infer that he was a Shaiva first and then became a convert to Vaiṣṇavism. His copper-plate inscriptions are found to have been introduced by hymns in eulogy of Shiva. The great scholar Halāyudha was appointed the "Gaudendra-dharmā-gārādhikāri" (officer in charge of the religious affairs of the King of Gauda) during this reign. For the settlement of all religious controversies of the people of Gauda he compiled a treatise named *Matsya-Sukta* on the basis of the *Vedas*, the *Code of Manu*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Tantras*. The supremacy of the Tantrists in the land had caused objectionable practices to run riot. To check this and yet to preserve the spirit of Tantrism, his *Matsya-Sukta* was composed. He also compiled the following encyclopædic works: *Mimāṃsā-Sarvaswa*, *Vaiṣṇava-Sarvaswa*, *Śaiva-Sarvaswa*, and *Pandit-Sarvaswa*. Each of these was intended to be a manual of the "whole duty" to certain classes and for certain purposes. The twelfth century was indeed a period of socio-religious stock-taking, re-interpretation and re-adjustment, and witnessed the beginnings of a new order of things in Bengal.

Halāyudha had two elder brothers, named Pashu-^{Hindu Law.}pati and Ishāna, the first of whom compiled a body of laws for the government of Hindu society under the name of *Pashupati-paddhati*, or *Samskāra-paddhati* (a System of Laws for the Reformation of Society).

The scholar Ishāna, well versed in Smṛiti and Mi-^{The daily}mānsā, composed a treatise named *Āhnika-paddhati*^{practice of} (System of Daily Worship) for the guidance of the Hindus with respect to their daily duties and observ-^{the Hindus.}ances.

Shulapāṇi was a distinguished scholar in the time of ^{Dipakalikā,}Lakṣmaṇa-sena. He composed *Dipakalikā*, a com-^{by Shulapāṇi.}mentary on *Yājñavalkya-Saṃhitā* (The Institutes of Yājñavalkya).

Under the direction of Lakṣmaṇa-sena, the Bud-^{A lexicon and}dhist Puruṣottama Deva compiled a lexicon under^{a commentary} the name of *Trikāṇdashesa*. It is full of historic on Pāṇini. materials concerning that age and the previous one. Under the royal direction he also wrote *Laghuwritti*, a commentary on the celebrated Grammar of Pāṇini.¹

Shrīdhara Dāsa wrote *Sukti-karnāmrita*, contain-^{Sukti-kar-}ing selections from Bengalee poets. This work is likely^{nāmrita.} to be of considerable help to historians. The anthologist mentions four hundred and fifty authors.

The poet Govardhanāchāryya was an adept in the ^{Āryyā-Sap-}art of writing poems, the mainspring of which was the^{taśhati,} sentiment of love. He composed such a work under the name of *Āryyā-Saptashati*.

In imitation of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, the poet ^{Pavanaduta,}Dhoyī wrote *Pavanaduta* (The Wind as Messenger).¹ a poetical^{work, con-}It contains a beautiful account of the country of Gauda.<sup>tain-
ing an
account of
Gauda.</sup>

¹ The Vedic portion of Pāṇini's work was omitted from this. It was favourably received in Gauda and Varendra.

² In this poem the Gandharva-girl Kuvalayavati makes the wind the messenger of her love for King Lakṣmaṇa.

It may not be out of place to quote a few lines from this description :—

"With white edifices the city of Mahādeva looks as grand and beautiful as the Kailāsa mountain itself. There is installed here on the banks of the Ganges an image of Ardha Gaurishwara (a joint-image consisting of a half of the body of Shiva and a half of that of his wife, Gaurī). A huge dam, immortalizing the name of King Vallāla, intervenes between this place of Mahādeva and the Ganges, although not so far away." Then follows a description of Vijayapura, the capital of Lakṣmaṇa-sena. "Vijayapura contains a huge cantonment. Look here! you will find there on the roofs of houses small rooms covering the stair-cases, and you will find numbers of pictures engraved on the walls. The place is very sacred. Here Lakṣmaṇa-sena has his palace, consisting of seven apartments. There is a great tank also in the house. The public thoroughfares of the capital resound with the jingling of the anklets worn by public women. The whole night is kept awake by the loving conversation of the female votaries of the god of love."¹

Gītāgovinda,
by Jaya-
deva.

We cannot ascertain whether Jayadeva composed his *Gītāgovinda* at Gauda, but it is certain that his sweet songs were sung before the Lord of Gauda. It is not unreasonable to guess that, fascinated by the charming music of these lays, Lakṣmaṇa-sena was induced to embrace the Vaiṣṇava creed.

"Umapātidhara alone knows how to embellish and amplify a style, and Jayadeva alone knows how to keep up the correctness and purity of diction. In the swiftness of style and the collocation of difficult words Sharana is the most skilled. Āchāryya Govardhana

¹ This work earned for the poet the title of "Kavirāja" (lit. king of poets) and other honours from Lakṣmaṇa-sena.

has no rival in dilating upon the sentiment of pure love as a matter of personal experience; and the poet Dhoyi has the peculiar power of retaining whatever he hears and afterwards reproducing the same verbatim."

King Vallalasen himself had been an author. He wrote *Dānasāgara*, a work on law, and *Adbhutasāgara*, a work on astronomy. These and other works of the twelfth century were all written in Sanskrit,¹ and not in the vernacular Bengali. This has been described as the "Augustan age of Sanskrit learning" in Bengal. Lakṣmaṇa-sena was like his grandfather, Vijayasena, a military genius and a conqueror, and like his father, Vallāla, was a poet and a patron of literature. Like Harṣa of the seventh century, and Akbar the Great Moghul of the sixteenth, this warrior-author-philanthropist used to hold *conversazione* with scholars on literary and religious topics and listened to the lays of *Gītāgovinda* from the lips of Jayadeva and his friends, Parāshara and others. His generosity, too, was proverbial.

In the time of Lakṣmaṇa-sena the rule of Brāhmaṇas was established in Bengal under royal "protection" and it was they who were the leaders of Hinduism. Codes of their composition and ways of religious life exhibited in them were the forces at work in organizing the Hindu society of that day. And it is these codes promulgated by the Brāhmaṇas that are even now governing the social life of the Hindus in Bengal. The origins of the-Caste system² in modern Bengal have to be sought in the efforts at social reconstruction in Sena times and not in the earlier eras of Hindu rule.

Modern society the same as that constituted by the Sena kings.

¹ Vide M. Chakravarti's writings in the J.A.S.B. (Calcutta, 1905, 1906).

² Vide the section on "Caste System and Military History" in *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*.

In Eastern India the twelfth century was indisputably the epoch of the powerful Senas as the ninth had been that of the mighty Palas. Both these epochs were marked by strong Imperial administration under which the achievements of Bengalee genius attained the highest watermark in medicine, veterinary science, chemistry, sculpture, architecture, *belles-lettres*, poetry and general culture.

SECTION IV.—SHEKH SHUBHODAYĀ—A PICTURE OF MORAL DEGENERATION.

Stories are not wanting to prove the increased fondness of the people of Gauda for luxury on the eve of Moslem conquest. Their morals appear to have deteriorated. *Shekh Shubhodayā* gives a picture of degenerate Bengal.

Haroury.

During the reign of Lakṣmaṇa-sena, a certain Shekh (Mohammedan), "valiant, dressed in black and anxious to keep his head-dress in position," is represented as having arrived at Gauda. One day, "even that Shekh, while wending his way, met with Vidyutprabhā (lit. as lustrous as the lightning flash), the wife of the dancer Gangā. She was wearing a tight bodice and resting a gold pitcher on her waist. Seeing her the Shekh said :—

"Return, O sinful frail woman holding an empty pitcher on your waist, if you wish your own weal—return for a moment, and then you may, O sinful one, go back to your home."

"Hearing these words, Vidyutprabhā thus reflected . . .

"Vidyutprabhā approached him and said : 'Listen, O foreigner! Explain to me the reason why you have addressed me as sinful.' The Shekh replied : 'Hear then ; with all virtue the Creator created man, and with

all vice woman. For fear of you, even the Brāhmaṇa has accepted the Vānaprastha way of life and retired into the wood; and the Shekh, dressed in rags, has gone to reside in the temple of a god in a remote village, yet some of you cast glances at him and others expose to him their breasts. It is for this and not for anything else that you are sinful.' Hearing this, she went up to the Shekh with a smiling face, opened her bodice and showed him her breasts."

The above extract is from a MS. copy of *Shekh Shubhodayā* of which the date of composition is uncertain. It was undoubtedly written long after Bengal had come under Moslem rule; and as such, gives an account of the demoralizing atmosphere, which, according to subsequent generations, must have led to the loss of their independence. No contemporary literary records or reliable archæological evidences have yet been discovered which may throw light on the circumstances attending the establishment of Moslem rule about 1200.

SECTION V.—BEGINNING OF MOSLEM RULE (1200 A.D.).

Pilgrimage was not a safe undertaking after the north-western portion of India had fallen into the hands of the Mohammedans, and in consequence since the middle of the twelfth century the establishment of temples to Shiva was largely resorted to in Bengal and Eastern India. Bhuvaneshwara in Orissa became as holy a shrine of the Shaivas as Benares in the west, and the glory and sanctifying character of Jagannātha considerably increased. Pilgrimage was then made to Kāmarupa, Jwālāmukhī and other sacred places of Assam. Tantric Shaivism became the faith of all, from the lowest Chandāla to the highest Brāhmaṇa. The socio-religious life of those days has come down *in toto*.

After Lakṣmaṇa-sena his sons Mādhava-sena, Keshava-sena¹ and Vishwarupa-sena became rulers of Bengal, in succession (1170-1199). Mādhava-sena was a follower of the Shaiva creed. After the throne was snatched from him, he went away on pilgrimage with Brāhmaṇas. Some words about him are to be found in the inscription on the walls of the Yogeshwara temple at Kumaun.

Keshava-sena was a Saura or Sun-worshipper. His title was "Parama Saura Mahārājādhirāja-Ghātuka-Shamkara Gaudeshwara". Vikramapura in East Bengal was his capital. Gauda may then have passed into the hands of Bakhtiyar. From the copper-plate inscriptions it is known that Keshava and Vishwarupa had to fight with the Moslems and inflicted defeat on them on one or two occasions. But the actual events leading to the final overthrow of the Hindus in North and West Bengal have yet to be brought to light. The general tendency is to accept the story as given by the Moslem chronicler in *Tabakāt-i-Nasiri*. But that is *prima facie* absurd as has been pointed out by Banerji in his recent *Bāngālār Itihāsa* (History of Bengal). About this time, however, for fear of oppression at the hands of Mohammedans, a large number of high-class families of the northern and western districts of Bengal migrated into Vikramapura. Hence it is that these families are found to preponderate in this part of the country at the present day.

¹ The chronology of the Sena kings accepted in this work is that adopted in Banerji's *Memoir* (A.S.B., 1915), and differs from that in Smith's *Early History* (Third Edition, 1914).

CHAPTER XVI.

ISLAM IN POPULAR HINDUISM.

SECTION I.—FORMATIVE FORCES IN INDIAN CULTURE HISTORY.

THE age of Harṣavardhana, continuing all the traditions of the Vikramādityan (Gupta)¹ Renaissance, marks one of the first epochs in the making of modern Hinduism—its culture, cult and literature. The Pāla-Chola period of Hindu Imperialism briefly referred to as the last phase of Independent Hindu India, carries forward and accelerates the formative forces of the age of Harṣa, and thus represents the second stage in the history of a great evolution. The advent of Islam in India, as one of the last waves of Islamization that had overwhelmed European and Asian humanity during the period from 600 to 900 A.D., closes the second epoch in the formation of modern Hindu civilization, and initiates the third.

Islam was regarded in India by the people who encountered it for the first time, primarily, and for a long period, solely, as an alien system of socio-religious faith and institutions. The character of Islam as a political power in India, as one of the rival claimants to the

¹ *Vide* the chapter on "The Beginning of Hindu Culture as World-Power (300-600)" in *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*: "With the establishment of the Guptas at Pātaliputra we enter modern India".

revenues of the land, was at first only subsidiary, or at any rate not felt as such till considerably after it had become a settled fact. And when the secular pretensions and political titles of the Mussalmans were firmly established in the consciousness of the people, the Hindus perceived all the more the new ideals of social life and thought and religious rites and ceremonies with which the proselytizing creed of the camel-driver of Mecca was associated.

The people of Hindusthan did not invite Islam with warm feelings, nor did they allow it to settle down without great opposition. Northern India or Āryāvarta, however, fell a more or less easy prey to the onrush of the Moslem hordes, and by the middle of the sixteenth century the Great Moghul was firmly established as the paramount sovereign. Dakṣiṇātya or India south of the Vindhya ranges, was not, however, the easy plain of the North, and did not allow of any smooth sailing to a conquering army. The southerners presented their bulwarks against the alien faith and power first in Vijayanagara and later in Mahārāṣṭra.

Āryāvarta has known of no considerable patrons of Sayan-āchārya and Mādhav-āchārya since the beginning of the thirteenth century, or of no powerful confederacy of the Hindus to measure their strength with the Moslems except in the mixed Sikh Misl. We are in fact at the parting of ways—Hindu culture and civilization developing along two distinct channels in Northern and Southern India since the beginning of the thirteenth century. The third stage in the making of modern Hindu cult and culture witnesses the working of two separate formative forces. Southern Hinduism grows by *induction*, to use a term of electrical science, i.e. by opposing, and as the result of conscious movements against, the alien cult and culture. Northern

Hindu culture, on the other hand, grows by *conduction*, i.e. by receiving and assimilating, and as the result of more or less conscious adaptation to, the new ideals, if not of the Pathans, certainly of the Great Moghuls, —and this in fine arts, literature, social etiquette, religious institutions and what not.

The Hindu literature and life of a section of Northern India, e.g. of Bengal, since the thirteenth century bear out this development of Hinduism along lines different from those in the South—in being greatly Islamized. The Mohammedan elements in Hindu literature of this period have been noticed by Dineschandra Sen in his *History of Bengali Literature*. Haridas Pālit's historical work, *Gambhīrā*, which has been liberally drawn upon for the present monograph, furnishes abundant proofs of the *rapprochement* of Hindus to Mussalmans in forms, ceremonies, rites, usages, etc. In Narendranāth Law's *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule* considerable sidelight has been thrown on Hindu-Moslem intercourse in language, literature, music and paintings.¹

It is well known that Urdu is practically a new language born of this Indo-Islamic wedlock. The Bengali language also owes "its elevation to a literary status" to the Mohammedans. "Instances of Bengali translation of Sanskrit and Persian books at the order of Mussalman chiefs are not rare. They served to remove the supercilious spirit in which Bengali was looked upon by the Sanskrit-loving Brāhmanas and Hindu Rājās." "In the domain of music," writes Mr. Law, "it is very perceptible how the Hindus and Mohammedans were borrowing from each other. . . . This process of inter-

¹ Vide Havell's *Indian Architecture* (Murray, London, 1913), and Coomāraswāmy's *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon* (Foulis, London, 1913).

mixture was not new in the time of Akbar, but dated from a long time back. . . . Khyâl, which is associated with the name of Sultan Husain Sharqin of Jaunpur as its inventor, has become an important limb of Hindu music, while Dhrupad has engrafted itself on Moham-medan music." Further, "Akbar's was a systematic and deliberate policy of protection of Hindu learning, which showed itself in the generous provisions he made for the education of Hindu youths in their own culture in the *madrasas* along with Mohammedan boys; in the discussions which he initiated in the *Îbâdat Khanah* with the orthodox Hindu learned men; in the translations of Hindu classics and scriptures; . . . and finally in the state patronage bestowed on distinguished Hindus for their proficiency in such fine arts as music and painting".

SECTION II.—AGGRESSIVE ISLAM IN EASTERN INDIA.

Mediaeval Bengali works afford ample evidence of the way in which the transition from the neo-Buddhism of the age of Vardhanas, Palas and Senas into Tantric Hinduism or Shaiva-cum-Shâktaism (i.e. the transformation of the worship of Âdi Buddha, Dharma, Târa, Niranjana, Shunya, the Void, and all other divinities of the later-day Mahâyânic pantheon to that of the Âdyâ, Durgâ, Kâlî, Mangala Chandi, Manasâ, etc., and of Shiva, Âdama, Maheshwara, etc.) was helped forward by the advent of the new faith of the conquering Pathans and Moghuls. We find traces of Islamization or adaptation to the conditions of the Islamic world in both the declining Buddhistic lore as well as the rising Hindu literature of the time. It was, in fact, an age of rapid assimilation, as we have remarked above—give and take of ideas; and every bit of socio-religious and

Indian Eclectic-
icism helped
forward under
Islamic pres-
sure.

literary picture of the day bears witness to all the three factors—Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism, that made up the complex web of Indian life.

The Dharma Gājan songs and hymns, interspersed with Mohammedan ideas, are a clear proof of the fact that after the establishment of the Mohammedan kingdoms the followers of Dharma were not allowed to offer their worship openly. The reasons also are not far to seek. First, the Mohammedans were dead enemies of idolatry; secondly, in the eye of Brāhmaṇas and Hindus generally the Buddhists had sunk down to the rank and status of "untouchable" Domas (a very low-class people who generally earn their livelihood by making baskets and wicker-work); they were put to great impediments at every step in the performance of their religious services. Thirdly, the majority of the landholders of the province were Hindus, and hence, for fear of incurring the displeasure of the Brāhmaṇas, they could in no way encourage these Buddhist Dharma festivities.

For these reasons the Dharma worshippers could not offer their worship to Dharma in many parts of the country. They were, however, equal to the occasion. In the serious struggle for existence that had almost overwhelmed them, they resorted to many a trick at once to draw a veil upon their real creed and also to win over the Mohammedans to their side. Thus they held the festivities of Dharma by giving them the air of a debased form of Mohammedanism and also by villifying right and left the gods of the Hindu pantheon. Nay, they even succeeded in having it pronounced through the lips of the Moslem officers called Kāzis and Khonkārs that the prayers were really offered to Khodā or the Paygambaras of Islam, and were full of encomiums of the Mohammedans. The *Bada Jānāni* songs bristle with spite and jealousy against the Brāhmaṇa.

During Mohammedan supremacy there had been a time when the Hindus also could not openly profess the creed of their conscience. Then they also had to take recourse to various tricks to throw dust in the eyes of the Kâzis. Thus they introduced the worship of Satya Pira (a Mohammedan saint), which was only a pseudonym for their own "Nârâyâṇa" or Viṣṇu.

Independent
Hindu chiefs.

The Hindu Zamindars (landlords) in many places retained or regained virtual independence during the Mohammedan regime, and could then generally perform their religious ceremonies without being interrupted or molested. Hence the Gâjan of Shiva, which had already taken possession of the Hindu mind, was largely patronized by them¹ and gradually became a more and more powerful institution.

Veiled
Buddhism.

Just as the Hindus invoke and worship Gaṇesha and other gods and goddesses in connexion with the worship of any particular god or goddess, the Dharma worshippers also following suit began to offer worship to Gaṇesha and the other Hindu gods or goddesses in connexion with the worship of Dharma. This was, however, only a screen to hide the service of "Niranjana identical with the Void". For we find that although they substituted Durgâ for Âdyâ, and Hari or Viṣṇu for Dharma, yet the essence of their meditation revealed itself through such phrases as "having neither body nor sound" and "Niranjana identical with the Void". Again, in worshipping Viṣṇu they were not really guilty of serving two masters at the same time, for the Hindus had already accepted Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

¹ In the Bengali monthly *Pravâsi* (February-March, 1915) there is an article by a Mohammedan writer giving a list of seventy Hindu chiefs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in different parts of India.

The Brāhmaṇas, however, still looked upon this veiled Buddhism with an evil eye and violently hurled it down headlong, reducing, in the eye of society, the worshippers of Dharma to the status of untouchable Domas and Chandālas, who occupy the lowest rung of the Hindu social ladder. The composers of the songs and hymns of Dharma had, therefore, to live in perpetual fear that at some time or other they might be deemed fit for excommunication through the administration of "social" justice.

SECTION III.—HINDU DEITIES IN MOHAMMEDAN BENGAL

The *Shunya Purāṇa*¹ (twelfth-thirteenth century?), in the form in which we have it, represents a very important stage or stages in the socio-religious evolution of the people of India. The gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon are here presented under two environments, one the atmosphere of declining Buddhism, the other that of aggressive Islam.

According to his own statement in the *Shunya Purāṇa*, Rāmāi Pandit propagated the worship of Ādi Buddha and of his personified energy under the name of Prajñā-pāramitā. In introducing the former, he said :—

"There was neither form nor figure,
Neither sound nor sign,
Neither the sun, nor the moon,
Neither day nor night."

Nay, there was nothing at that time—"It was all chaotic".

"The Lord's mind was filled with (the idea of) the Shunya (void). Master of illusions, he thought within himself, 'Whom am I to create now out of this void?'"

¹ The authorship of this work, as of almost every other literary production in ancient and mediæval India, has, in the absence of positive evidences, to be attributed to a cycle or school.

"The Lord himself created his own body,"—then "out of the Lord's body sprang the god Niranjana". Thus the Lord left his formless state and assumed a form; then after ages had elapsed—

"The bird Ullukai came into being from the breath or exhalation."

After creation was thus commenced, the Lord created Kurma (tortoise) and then the Vāsuki snake.

"He tore asunder the sacred thread of gold and cast it off into the waters—and up sprang from there the thousand-headed Vāsuki snake."

Thereafter he brought into existence Nature, the basis and primary condition of the creation of beings.

"While travelling about, a drop of perspiration fell from his body and gave birth to the goddess named Ādya (lit. the primitive energy), Durgā and Jayā (the female agency in creation)."

Intent upon committing suicide, Ādya drank, for poison, the seed of Dharma, and thus in course of time became mother of three sons, named Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheshwara.

"In your desire to die you drank honey (seed) for poison, and thus gave birth to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheshwara."

Shiva (Maheshwara) saluted Lord Dharma by touching his feet.

"There sit together Ulluka, Ādya Shakti (i.e. primordial energy) and Niranjana. Shiva saluted the Lord (Dharma) by touching his feet."

Rāmāi Pandit, Mahādeva Dasa and Valarāma Dasa have entertained almost the same opinions about Dharma and Ādya. This Shiva of the *Shunya Purāna* is also found to have been invited to attend the Gājan or festival in honour of Dharma.

"Hara (Shiva) riding his bull duly equipped hastened to the Gājan of Dharma."

The Gājan of Dharma, as instituted by Rāmāi, was probably an imitation of the Buddhist festivities witnessed by Hiuen Tshang. In the latter, Harṣa and Kumāra Deva appeared as Indra and Brahmā respectively to serve Buddha. Similarly in the former also, we find the gods of the Hindu pantheon present. Brahmā, Indra, the king of the celestials, on his elephant named Airāvata, and Nārada also on his vehicle, the Dhenkī, graced the temple of Dharma.

The status of Shiva in the *Shunya Purāṇa* is well described in the following passages :—

"When the Lord travelled naked from door to door begging alms and with the name of God on his lips," Bhagavati Ādyā advised Mahesha to take to cultivation :

"Grow in your fields all the varieties of crops and grow bananas also. So that we may get all the necessary things on the occasion of Dharma worship."

Also, in the Devasthāna (or abode of gods) as pictured by Rāmāi we have the following :

"With his feet turned upwards and head turned downwards, Pashupati (Shiva) has struck up a concert with his Shīṅgā (a horn used for blowing) and Damaru (small drum, these two being the favourite musical instruments of Shiva). He is playing a song on the Shīṅgā to the music of the Damaru. He is meditating on Dharma and is playing on his cheeks. (This particular music sounding Vom, Vom, is struck up by beating one's fingers against one's cheeks, and is said to be very dear to Shiva)."

For the pleasure of Dharma, all the gods are found to take part in singing and dancing on this occasion.

From the above accounts it would appear that Shiva has so long been introduced in the Gājan of Dharma merely as a dancer or spectator—he has not yet been

able to assert his own influence. And this picture of Shiva and the other gods dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments may not have been the product of Rāmāi's own imagination. For it was the established custom among Buddhist votaries to amuse themselves on the occasion of their festivals by appearing in the masks of Hindu gods and goddesses.

The picture of the Mohammedan invasion that was drawn in the *Shunya Purāṇa* under the title of the *Ruṣmā* (wrath) of *Niranjana*, and that was said to have been sung by Rāmāi Pandit, was not really his work. This invasion-song was composed at some later period and then incorporated with the original *Shunya Purāṇa*. Songs like this are composed in connexion with the *Dehārā-bhanga* (lit. breaking down of the *dehārā* or temple) of the *Gājan*. Such pictures of Mohammedan invasion are also found in other Bengali manuscripts relating to the worship of Dharma. The following extracts are taken from the *Shunya Purāṇa*:—

"Dharma assumed the form of a Yavana (Mohammedan) with a black cap on his head and with triruchas (tridents) in his hands. He rode a beautiful horse, the sight of which sent a thrill of terror through the three worlds and assumed the only name of *Khodā* (God).

"The formless *Niranjana* became incarnated as *Vesta* (paradise) and happily uttered the name of *Dāmodara*.

"All the gods unanimously resolved to put on and did really put on gladly (the) loose trousers (worn by Mohammedans).

"*Brahmā* became Mohammed, *Viṣṇu* Paygambara (the prophet), and *Shulapāṇi* (i.e. Shiva) became *Ādam* (i.e. Adam).

"*Gaṇeśha* became *Gāzi* (a Mohammedan saint),

Hindu deities
Islamizing.

Kārtika Kāzi (Mohammedan judge), and all the Munis (Hindu ascetics) became fakirs (Mohammedan Sannyāsis).

"Casting off his own religious habit Nārada assumed that of a Sheikh (Mohammedan).

"The Sun-God, the Moon-God, and many others became foot-soldiers, and all together struck up a concert.

"Even the Goddess Chandikā (personified primordial energy) assumed the form of lady Hāyā (Havā, i.e. Evil), and Padmāvatī that of lady Nura (lit. light). And thus all the gods in a body entered Jājapura."

They pulled down walls and doors, roved about and plundered (whatever they could), and had the cry "seize, seize" incessantly on their lips.

Rāmāi Pandit touched the feet of Dharma and said mournfully: "This is a very serious affair"

SECTION IV.—MOHAMMEDAN ELEMENTS IN MEDLEVAL BUDDHISM.

In *Dharma-pujā-paddhati* the worship of Ādi Budha itself has been designated as Dharma's Gājan. In this work also Mahākāla (a name of Shiva) has been relegated to the position of the lord's (i.e. Dharma's) garden-keeper.

We have gathered from the lips of Dharma Pandits that *Hākanda Purāna* is the original treatise on Dharma worship. This valuable work is not available now.

For performing the worship of Dharma, his dehārā (temple) has to be built. The song that has to be sung at its commencement is styled *Harish chandra Pālā* (a portion of a *Purāna* done to music). The incantation that has to be recited at the time of the construction of the dehārā is not of much importance, but the Dharma Sannyāsis cannot do without singing the song entitled *Dharma-pujā* by Harish chandra.

The following extract is made of this song from *Dharma-pujā-paddhati*:—

"Now then of the construction of the dehārā.

"O God Viṣāi, make the vessel (temple) with materials and do not neglect your work.

"(For) King Harish chandra will celebrate there the worship of Dharma and it is now noon."

Thus was Viṣāi brought to build at an auspicious moment the house for the worship of Dharma by Harish chandra. A cord, eighty cubits long and divided into nine parts, hooks of gold, feathers from the tails of peacocks looking like pieces of cloth studded with jewels, for roofing—with all these a decent house was constructed, and inside it on a long seat placed in front of Dharma were seated many gods, etc., etc.

With such songs "the construction of the dehārā" was completed. When the permanent dehārās (buildings) were profaned by Mohammedans—in many cases they were even pulled down—these temporary ones had to be built for the worship of Dharma; and, with a view to please and pacify the Mohammedan audience, at the conclusion of the worship was sung the particular song named *Dehārā-bhanga* (i.e. pulling down of the dehārā), in which false and unjustifiable attacks were made upon the Hindus, and the Hindu gods and goddesses were made to embrace Islam.

The "dehārā-bhanga" song of *Dharma-pujā-paddhati* is given below:—

"Then (we come to the topic) of Dehārā-bhanga.

"The Khonakāra is worshipping with his face towards the west.

"Some worship Āllā, some Āli and others Mamuda Sāi (the same word as Sain, meaning master, lord).

"The Mian (i.e. a respectable Mohammedan gentle-

man) kills no living things nor does eat dead ones. He is cooking his food over a slow fire.

"The caste-distinction will shortly be broken—for, behold, there's a Mohammedan in a Hindu family: Khodā's Rahaman (devotee) has called a meeting (to this effect).

"The crow is asking and Dharma is deciding where Khodā was first born.

"He (i.e. Rahaman) is spitting on Brāhmanas and thus violating their caste (i.e. converting them to Mohammedanism). Jājpura will (soon) be solely devoted to the service (i.e. worship) of Hassan and Hussain (grand-sons of Mohammed by his daughter Fatima).

"He has a horse named Hamsa-rāja (i.e. king of geese), and very prompt and obedient to orders; he put on a turban and looked like the moon.

"With arrows and quivers in hand, he set out to kill the Hindu ghosts.

"Be ready, ye brethren Mamuda Sāis—ye Mussalmans—for they) have just started to kill the Hindu ghosts.

"The Khonakāra started westward—the Mohammedans encamped themselves round the gold temple.

"(He) set artisans to pull down the gold fortress; and they broke down the sāhighara (a particular kind of house) of gold.

"They pulled all the gold fortress with violent force and they broke it down to pieces.

"(Men) and they erected a Masjīd (Mohammedan temple of worship) in its place and began to perform Bakr-Id (principal Mohammedan festival), etc., with the slaughter of cows."

In this way are pulled down the fortresses of silver, copper and earth in the south, east and north respectively.

After the earth-fortress is razed to the ground are recited the following lines :—

"(They) could not pull down sāhighara of earth, and Paygambara (i.e. Prophet, an epithet of Mohammed) established himself about it.

"There were there throngs of Kāzis (Mohammedan judges or learned men) and Mollās (Mohammedan teachers or priests) and all of them sat down to recite the Korān. With this the Khodā (God, i.e. the Paygambara) was excessively pleased.

"Thou art, O Khodā, I know, superior to all others. How I wish to hear the Korān from Thy lips!

"Nīranjana transformed to Allā will confer blessings. May the enemies of Āmin fall under the wrath of Kutub."

"Bada Jānāni (Jānāni really meaning proclamation) or the Great Proclamation.

"Khonakāra is worshipping with his face towards the west: upon his two feet is the excavated trunk of a tree used for an oil-mill as the receptacle of the seed and in his hands are the blossoms of such plants as the ginger, the turmeric, etc., and with this bunch in his hands he is offering the namāz (the prayer of the Mohammedans).

"Ahidin, Sahidin, Kutubdin and Babudin Molla asked Hetā (the present life personified) there (in heaven) for an account of itself and seized it firmly by the head. (Then) Hetā of gold colour goes to Khodā direct."

"Mother Mangalā Chandī started for that place, and coming there she became known under the name of Thakardevi . . . (there) Visadā Bibi (used with reference to a Mohammedan lady) was crushing pungent spices to pulp, and here the white body of Khodā was feeling the bitterness of this preparation.

"(At this) Jagannātha (with special reference to God Jagannātha of Puri) interposed himself (between there and here); the hands of this Jagannātha were lopped off for the theft of wine.

"A certain Brāhmaṇa was making his escape; he was, however, (detected), arrested and made to offer the namāz (Mohammedan worship), i.e. was converted to Mohammedanism. Another Brāhmaṇa was sneaking away; he, too, was arrested, and a basket of hedā (bone) was put upon his head. Behold, with this basket of hedā on his head and Kavā (a contraction of Kāvāb, meaning roasted meat) in his hands, there goes he slowly and softly to the quarters of the son-in-law.

"O Hedā, of the complexion of gold, do good to Khodā and keep him well, (for which) his Āllā on high will bless you.

"May Pir Paygamvara (Mohammed) shower his blessings on our heads and may our formidable enemies fall and die under the wrath of Kutub.

"Thus has Rāmāi Pandit sung only the Proclamation, (and he hopes that) the Lord will confer boons on the leader."

These queer hymns and songs relating to "dehārābhanga" may provoke an outburst of laughter, but would indicate to what straits Mahāyānic Buddhism was reduced during Islamite ascendancy, and the extent of compromise to which the *minnesingers* of the Rāmāi-cycle were willing to submit if they were only allowed to utter somehow the name of Dharma or Shunya.

SECTION V.—TRIUMPH OF SHIVA.

The knell of Buddhism had, however, been tolled; and even these shifts could not save it from being absorbed into Shaivaism. Ādyā, the principal goddess of

Mahāyāna pantheon, was united in happy wedlock with the Hindu Shiva. The transformation was complete.

In the treatise entitled *Dharma-pujā-paddhati*, recovered from a Dharma Pandit of Burdwan, we find that Ādyā was married to Shiva. The representation of this marriage scene is universally admitted by all the Pandits (persons well versed in Dharma literature and the details of Dharma worship) as an indispensable item of Dharma's Gājan. There is a line—evidently an interpolation—in the body of the book to the effect that the treatise was written by Rāmāi Pandit.

Mention is made here of all the varieties of Vāpa-fodā (piercing the body with arrows), such as Jihvā-bheda, Panchavedana, etc. (explained before).

In place of the "invocation to gods" offered in the Gājan, we have here :—

"I invoke that God who is the wielder of Khat-tānga (i.e. a leg of a bedstead, the name of a weapon), who is seated on the neck of a bull, whose sacred thread is made of a live snake, whose body is daubed with ashes and who is surrounded (and hence adored) by the celestials. Come, O Lord Rudra (Shiva), and sit motionless at the place of worship."

The following is the invocation to Durgā :—

"I invoke that goddess who is the wielder of a trident, who is the conferrer of success and blessings, who is seated (on a lion)-and who is decorated with various ornaments, whose colour is like that of burnt gold and who is surrounded (and hence adored by the celestials. Come, O Durgā, the mistress of all attributes and sit motionless at the place of worship."

Thus were Rudra and Durgā invoked to attend the scene of festivities which were held with music, song and dance.

"Then are the nuptial ceremonies, consisting first of

Adhivāsa (preliminary ceremonies of a great festival such as marriage, the installation of a king, etc.), and secondly of the holy wedlock ceremony, to be observed."

This is done in the following way :—

"The women made Ādyā put on bracelets of conch-shells and a new piece of cloth. After the ladies have thus welcomed the couple and observed the traditional ceremonies not enjoined in the Shāstras but somehow or other accepted as inviolable by them (and known as *stri-āchāra*, lit. female custom), the Brāhmanas commenced reciting the Vedas. . . .

"The priest, actuated by a noble impulse, tied together the corners of the bride's and bridegroom's clothes (as a sign that they were united in holy wedlock). . . .

"Seating Maheshwara on a gold seat (called *pāta* and nicely decorated for the purpose), the ladies joined together in taking him round Ādyā.

"(Then) a hundred ladies seated Shakti on a (similar) seat and with words of benediction on their lips, took her seven times round Maheshwara, seated or standing under a gold canopy."

Thus was celebrated the marriage of Pārvatī, now named Ādyā, with Mahesha, and thus was the Buddhist Ādyā Chandikā made to sit (as his consort) on the left side of Shiva. It was about this time that a joint-image of Hara-Gaurī under the name of Vābhraṇī-kāyā was inaugurated in Bengal and Orissa, and before this image the Gājan festivities in honour of Shiva came to be celebrated from now. Here Shiva was made to sit with Gaurī. In Shiva's Gājan we see that all through the round of festivities Shiva has Ādyā on his left side and has invited Dharma Niranjana to attend them.

Thus in course of time Dharma Niranjana came to be ousted from his usual place in the Gājan in favour of Shiva, who was made to marry, as Pārvatī, Ādyā the daughter of Ādi Buddha.

SECTION VI.—PROPAGATION OF SHAIVA-CUM-SHÂKTAISM.

Besides, in the literature of Bengal since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we meet with ample proofs of the prevalence of the worship of Shiva and Shakti.

Hussain Shah came to realize that the native Hindu Princes were the real bulwarks of Mohammedan rule in India, and allowed them to develop their strength till they became like so many independent chiefs. Most of them were worshippers of Shakti; and consequently about this time there were being established in towns and hamlets temples of Shiva, Kâlî and Durgâ and other forms of Shakti with the necessary images; and various songs and hymns were sung and festivities held in honour of Shiva.

The following legend is given in *Chaitanya Bhâgavata*:—

"One day a singer of songs relating to Shiva came to beg alms at the temple of the Lord, and began to sing these songs by playing on a Darmaru (a small drum, a favourite musical instrument of Shiva) and dancing wildly, turning round and round. Hearing these songs relating to his own virtues, Lord Vishwambhara (Shiva) himself appeared there with fine matted locks."

The Shiva songs of those times are even now sung in the Gambhîras. The Sannyâsis of Shiva travelled from hamlet to hamlet singing the glories of the god and propagating his worship. The consequence of this was that here and there temples of Shiva sprang up announcing the triumph of the Shaiva cult. Even now remains of these temples are met with in many places. There was a Chandî-Mandapa (lit. a temple for the worship of Chandî, hence a house of worship of Shiva and Shakti) attached to the house of every Hindu householder. Every year Chandî was worshipped and

on every auspicious occasion were sung songs relating to the glories of the goddess.

Goddess Ādyā of *Shunya Purāṇa* has been identified in the *Chandī* of Mānik Datta with the same goddess as has received the various appellations of Chandikā, Bhavānī and Durgā.

"Dharma Niranjana knows that all the gods will worship Bhavānī."

In *Narottama Vilāsa* by Narahari Chakravarti and other Vaiṣṇava works of fourteenth to sixteenth¹ century, we read of the great faith of Bengal Zamindars like Chānd Ray and Kedāra Ray of East Bengal in Shakti-cult, and also of the popularity of physical austerities in religion with all ranks. The worship of Kālī and all the paraphernalia relating to it became, as it were, a school of military training, and kept up the spirit of energism among all orders of the community.

It is a notorious fact that like the "Barons bold" of mediæval Europe and the Daimyos of feudal Japan, the semi-independent Chiefs or Zamindars of Bengal used to wage warfare against each other in season and out of season and occasionally against the Imperial Head. And the deity who monopolized the devotion of this militant nobility was the War-Goddess Kālī. Historically the most famous Kālī was that at Jessore, called Jashoreshwari (the patron divinity of Jessore), worshipped by Pratāpāditya of South Bēngal, who was ambitious enough to measure his strength with Akbar the Great Moghul (sixteenth century).²

¹ Vide J. N. Das Gupta's *Mukundarām: A Glimpse of Bengal in the Sixteenth Century*.

² Akbar's Hindu general, Mān Singh, led a successful punitive expedition against Pratāp and carried off the image of his goddess to Ambar, the capital of his own principality (present Jaipur State in Rajputana), where it was duly installed and has been receiving worship till to-day according to the original Jessore (Bengali) custom.

CHAPTER XVII.

SANSKRIT TEXTS OF SHAIVA FOLK-LORE.

SECTION I.—THE SHIVA PURĀṆA.

(a) *The Linga, or Phallus.*

BEFORE the universe was created, or, at least, when merely the preliminaries of creation were in operation, there existed only a huge phallus, as white as snow, as the emblem of divinity, pervading the whole of space. Shri Viṣṇu and Shri Brahmā were neither of them able to define the head, base and sides of this form. Although this emblem had a shape, yet it had no limits on any side, pervading, as it did, the boundless and endless void. This stupendous god, covering the entirety of space, is the first god of the Shaivas. He is the First Lord—the God of Gods (Mahādeva). It is from Him that this great universe has emanated.

In course of ages, however, this huge form of Shiva, co-extensive with the universe, gave place to smaller and smaller forms; and human nature gradually invested him with human qualities—made him the head of a family, swayed by human passions.

"One day Trailokya-Sundari (i.e. Durgā, so called from her powers of illusion), the repository of all attributes, went out for a stroll with her lord, Mahādeva (Shiva), both disguised as hunters. Seeing the male hunter, who looked like beauty and elegance embodied, and charmed with his sweet words, the wives of the

Ris̥is (sages) all followed him, despite the protests of their husbands. At this the sages cursed him, saying: 'This ignorant rogue is depriving us of our wives; and the condign punishment for such villains as are addicted to adultery is to cut off their generative organs. But since in this great forest of ours there is no such king as can inflict this punishment on him, we shall take the law into our own hands and punish him fittingly.'

"And, owing to this curse by the sages, there dropped down in the dense forest the highly beautiful phallus, covering many a yojana (one yojana = four, seven, or eight miles)."—*Dharma Samhitā*.

Although the length¹ of the Indian phallus has nowhere been definitely stated, yet the phrase, "covering many a yojana," may be taken as sufficient proof that the image was made a very long one. Below is given a short account of the incidents in the worship of the phallus as the emblem of Shiva.

"On that day of the light half of the month on which the moon and the planets that were propitious to him on the day of his birth are in the ascendant, the worshipper will have, in accordance with the injunctions in the Shāstras relating to Shiva-worship, to make a linga (phallus) of a certain measurement. Then have to be applied the tests of sacredness of earth to find out a suitable place of worship. Having thus selected the place of worship and made his phallus in accordance with Shāstric details on the point, he will have to offer worship with the ten items (such as the smoke of burnt resin, a light, a seat, offerings of rice, etc., water, betel-rods, etc.) laid down in the Shāstras for the purpose."

Here follow the details of worship. At the outset

¹ Greek phallus of Bacchus is 60 yds., Assyrian phallus is 150 yds.

is to be worshipped Ganesha, the conferrer of success (who receives the first honour in connexion with every Tantric worship) and the place is to be purified with incantations. The phallus has now to be taken to its bath-room, where it will be daubed with the juice of saffron and painted all over. Thereafter certain engravings will have to be made upon it with a gold chisel. The linga with the altar under it will now have to be worshipped, after being purified with the waters (called Panchāmrita, containing, as it does, the five nectarine substances of milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar) of eight full earthen pitchers, and also with Pancha-gavya (i.e. milk, curds, ghee and the two forms of excretion of the cow). Then the phallus with its altar will have to be taken to a clear and sacred tank and the ceremony of adhivāsa (i.e. the preliminary ceremony of any great festival, such as the worship of a god, marriage, the installation of a king, etc.) must be performed. The doors and gateways of the purified and beautiful house where this adhivāsa has to be celebrated, are nicely decorated with garlands, the kusha grass and paintings; and here are to be placed images of the eight mythological elephants residing in the eight quarters of the globe, images of the eight tutelary deities of the eight directions, and eight earthen pitchers, filled to the brim with the panchāmrita water. And in the centre of the hall will be installed an altar of some metal or wood, and having the peculiar posture in religious meditation known as padmāsana represented on its surface.

The ceremony will now begin with the offering of worship, one after another, to Subhadra, Vibhadra, Sunandā and Vinandā, the four gate-keepers,¹ and with the phallus

¹ According to the *Sītanya Purāṇa*, Dharma has five gate-keepers. Cf. "Now the opening of the doors," "The Ulluka opened the fifth door"

with its altar being bathed and surrounded on all sides with a piece of cloth. And, after taking the phallus repeatedly to the side of a tank or river, it will have to be laid down with its head eastwards on the altar. On its west is to be placed the offering of oblation. Here it is that the *adhivāsa* of the *linga*, the conferrer of all blessings, has to be celebrated for five nights, three nights or one night. Then, consigning the images of the gods worshipped as described above to the river, only the phallus will be taken, with imposing ceremonies, to its own chamber. Thus, after it has been brought back with a flourish of auspicious music, it will have to be laid down, as before, draped in crimson-coloured cloth and surrounded by offerings of oblation. Like the phallus, the image also has to be installed.

This account of the installation and worship of the phallus reminds one of the Buddhist festivities held by *Shri Harṣa Deva*. There also we find the image of Buddha taken on the shoulder for a bath and brought back with pompous ceremonies. There are other points also of close resemblance. Similar ceremonies are found to be observed in connexion with the *Gājan* of both *Ādyā* and *Shri Dharma*. It is the chief spiritual guide who will offer clarified butter, etc., as enjoined in the *Shāstras*, to the fire-pit representing *Shiva* and known as *Shiva-kunda*; and the other *Brāhmaṇas* will have to offer, similarly, clarified butter, etc., to the sacred fire, kindled on all sides, in the names of the principal gods. In connexion with the *linga*-worship, four *Brāhmaṇas* are found to offer *homa* (clarified butter, etc.) to the sacred fire. It is said that in *Ādyā's Gājan* also four chief pandits kindle the sacred fire upon the altar.

(b) *Festivities.*

Dance and
music.

"Dance, song, music and other auspicious performances are to attend the worship of the linga of Shiva."
—*Vāyaviya Samhitā*.

That is, we find that besides the kindling of the sacrificial fire, dance, song and music were also among the incidents of worship. Dharma's Gājan is performed in a similar manner. We have already spoken of the Dehārā of Dharma as well as of Ādyā. For the worship of Shiva, the Soul of Souls, it is essential to build a temple resembling a royal palace and possessing all the attributes that such a temple should have according to the Shāstras dealing with Shiva-worship, and with huge gateways and bejewelled panels of gold. It should be furnished, besides, with two light white fly-brushes of the form of a gander, and mirrors decorated with beautiful garlands of sweet fragrance and set with gems on all the borders. In the Gājan of Shri Dharma also white fly-brushes and garlands are necessary.

Keeping
awake.

Detailed accounts are extant to show that "keeping awake whole nights" was observed with the performance of dance, song and music on the occasion of the Shiva-worship. Thus we find in the *Jñāna Samhitā*:—

"The wise should repeat the names of the god after worshipping him, in the first of the eight divisions into which the space of day and night is divided, with dance, song and music and actuated by the feeling of devotion."

The first prahara (two hours and a half) of the night is to be spent with various dances, songs and music, and with the formal avowal of the object for the realization of which the worship is offered. And all the remaining praharas are to be spent in the same way.

"Then, avowing the object for the accomplishment of which the worship is offered, and singing various

songs and performing various dances and music . . . —
Jñāna Samhitā.

It is further learnt that eight siddhas (a class of deñ. gods) are constantly dancing before him whose votaries are now worshipping him, crying "All glory" to him. In Shri Dharma festivals also it is stated that the sam-yātas in a body cry: "Glory to Dharma! Glory to Dharma!"

Clear-sighted men should offer worship, in such a state of the soul as is free from desires and is lost in devotion, in every prahara with dance, song and music; and should try with the recitation of various hymns to propitiate the Vṛṣabha-dhvaja (lit. he who is known by his bull, i.e. Shiva, who rides a bull). The performer of the vow (of worshipping Shiva) should listen, with all attention, to the recital of the merits (i.e. the peculiar objects and greatnesses) realizable through this vow. The night is divided into four praharas, in every one of which worship has to be offered in this way.

"Then to keep awake the whole night, holding great festivities."—*Jñāna Samhitā*.

The festivities in connexion with the Shivapujā are brought to a close with dance, song and music.

"Music and dance should be repeatedly performed till the appearance of the morning sun (above the horizon)."¹

Keeping awake the whole night in the way described above, the votary should recite at daybreak his guru-mantra (the mystical word or formula whereby to propitiate his spiritual preceptor) and sing religious songs. Then he will have to bathe and offer worship to Shiva.

¹ Worship is offered in the day in connexion with the festivities of Dharma, while it is offered at night in connexion with the Shiva-pujā.

"Reciting the best of mantras and again dancing and singing."—*Jñāna Samhitā*.

(c) *Conventional Ceremonies.*

The giving away of cows, etc., is prescribed thus:—

Directions for
the giving
away of cows.

"A good-tempered cow, yielding a large quantity of milk, should be given away with dakṣiṇā (i.e. money given to a Brāhmaṇa as present)."¹

Procession
with Shiva;
Sannyāsins
with canes in
their hands.

The Dharma Sannyāsins, carrying on their heads the sandals of Shri Dharma, and cane in hand, proceed from village to village with dance, song and music. Similar observances are also to be found enjoined in the Shāstras dealing with the Shiva festivities. "Invoking the celestial Pāshupata (belonging to Pashupati, i.e. Shiva) weapon, worship it on a spacious metallic vessel, set with gems and decorated with lotuses. Then, placing it on the head of a Brāhmaṇa carrying an ornamented stick, and starting out with dance, song and music and various other auspicious ceremonies, proceed, neither very slowly nor very quickly, with lights, flags, etc., to the Mahāpītha (sacred place), and then, with a view to propitiate the god, go round it thrice." Even now the Sannyāsins of the Gājan are seen to adorn their persons with various ornaments and go out dancing, cane in hand and carrying copper-plates on their heads.

Tree-worship.

A peculiar ceremony known as Gāmār-kātā was observed in connexion with the festivities of Shri Dharma, in which the Gambhīrā (Gāmāra) tree was worshipped and all the Sannyāsins of the Samyāta touched and formally welcomed it. We find in *Vāyavya Samhitā* mentioned in the *Shiva Purāṇa* that this worship is

¹ In *Dharma Mangala* also the giving away of cows is prescribed in connexion with the worship of Dharma. In *Shunya Purāṇa* also it is enjoined: "Give away rice (i.e. food), clothing and cows".

offered in a building, then the worshippers should go to beautiful and delicate plants and observe the ceremonies of Dvārayāga and Parivāravali and hold continuous festivities there. And—

"Going out with music and seated with their faces towards them (the trees) they should offer them flowers, burnt resin, lights, water and rice."¹

Lotuses are held in high esteem for worshipping Shiva. In the course of this worship, the glorious trident has to be worshipped in the north-east, the thunder-bolt in the east, the battleaxe in the south-east, the arrow in the south, the sword in the south-west, the noose in the west, the amkusha (the iron goad that is used in driving an elephant) in the north-west, and the pināka (the bow) in the north. This mode of worship is still observable in Shri Dharma-pujā. In the Gambhīrā the trident and the arrow are found to receive worship.² It

Worshipping the trident, the thunder-bolt, the battleaxe, the arrow, the sword, the noose, the amkusha and the pināka.

¹The *Shunya Purāna* :—

"All the people made haste, hearing that the votaries were proceeding for the Gāmārī Mangala, and flags were carried in rows with merry dance and music." . . . " (They) sat down at the foot of the trees, spreading their seats of the sacred kusha grass, and worshipped Mayanā. Kindling lights and burning resin, the learned Brāhmaṇas recited the Vedas. The whole place, besides, was smeared with the juice of saffron and sandal paste, and the air sweetened with perfumes and flower-garlands."

And in *Dharma Mangala* occur the following lines :—

"On the tenth day they observed the ceremony of Gāmār-kāṭā on the river-side, raising triumphant cries and bathing and worshipping with dance and music.

"Following the custom of the sages, the gāmār tree was 'awakened' (i.e. conjured) by offering worship to Ganesha and the other gods. (Then) the whole body of the Samyāta touched and formally welcomed the tree and tied pieces of thread (rākhi) round one another's wrists."

² "Worshipping the five gods, Dharma and the weapons, equipping the chariot and then giving away money."

has been ordained that Shiva should be worshipped and festivities held in his honour every month, and the merits of these monthly celebrations have also been laid down.

(d) *Sanction for the Months of Worship.*

Statement of
the merits of
monthly
worship.

"The best of men that will fast and worship Shiva in the month of Chaitra (March-April) with undivided devotion will be rewarded with wealth in money and kind, with personal beauty and with birth in a high order."

"The man that will fast and worship in the month of Vaishākha (April-May) will be rewarded with birth in a high order, as well as with wealth and honours."
—*Sanat kumāra Samhitā*.

The hopes here held out are too much for the worshippers of Shiva, and it is for this reason mainly that the months of Chaitra and Vaishākha seem to be especially dedicated to the worship of Shiva.

It is further ordained that great festivities should be held in the month of Phalgoona (February-March) when it is associated with the twelfth lunar mansion, and the swinging festival in the month of Chaitra.

Flower
temple in
Vaishākha.

"As ordained in the Shāstras, the swinging festival should be held on the day of the full moon in the month of Chaitra." (And) "on the day of the full moon in the month of Vaishākha, also the swinging festival should be held and a beautiful floral temple should be made in honour of Shiva."—*Vāyaviya Samhitā*.

Ample references are found in the ancient dramas to the festival of Vasanta (the god of spring) or Madana (the god of love) being held in the month of Chaitra. An account of the merry-makings on this occasion with coloured water is to be found in the drama *Mālatī Mādhava*, wherein references are also to be met with

to the building of flower temples in the month of Vaiśākha in honour of Mahādeva. This floral temple is simply an imitation of the floral chariot, an account of which has been recorded by Hiuen-Tsan in connexion with certain Buddhist festivals. On these occasions images of Buddha and Bodhisattva were installed in the chariot. Similarly in the flower temple are placed the images of Shiva and his gate-keeper Nandi. Accounts are still extant of the dance, music and other rejoicings indulged in by the devotees on both these occasions.

We learn from *Kāshī-khanda* that "the man or woman who will fast on the third day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra, and at dead of night worship Mangala-Gauri (Gauri, the Bestower of Blessings) with offerings of clothes, ornaments and other articles of worship, and then pass the rest of the night with dance and music, will be rewarded with blessings beyond his or her expectations". It is further stated that one and all of the people of Kāshī (Benares) should join in an annual procession in honour of Shiva on the third day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra, and they should also hold a great festival in his honour on the day of full moon of the said month. The following story is told in this connexion. Once upon a time, on the day of full moon of the month of Chaitra, the festival of Shiva was being held, and the gods were cooking heaps of rice with other articles of food. The extensive ceremony of giving away rice by Shri Harṣa Deva, and the Buddhist festival held by him, are exact imitations of this Chaitra festival. The present-day Gambhirā of Malda also faintly represents this festival.

Annual procession with Shiva held in the month of Chaitra.

SECTION II.—*HARIVAMSHA* ON VÂNAFODA (PHYSICAL AUSTERITIES).

The object of *Harivamsha* seems to be to diminish by stratagem the influence of the Shaiva cult, and to raise in higher esteem the Vaiṣṇava worship of Shri Kṛṣṇa. It contains the story of the terrible defeat of Vāṇa, King of Shonitapura, a staunch devotee of Shiva. This part of the legend seems to be the Sanskrit basis of the Gajan of Shiva, or the Gambhīrā festivities. In this work distinct efforts have been made to place the Shaivas below the Vaiṣṇavas, and to show a general degradation of the former.

(a) *Discomfiture of Vāṇa the Shivaite.*

"Uṣā, daughter of King Vāṇa, a staunch Shaiva, fell secretly in love with Aniruddha, a grandson of Shri Kṛṣṇa, King of Dwārakā. Enraged at this, high-souled Vāṇa imprisoned Aniruddha in an iron cage. The latter implored the assistance of the goddess Kālī, of complexion dark as collyrium; and, pleased with his devotion, the goddess released him at dead of night on the fourteenth day of the black half of the month of Jyāistha (May-June). On the following night (i.e. the dark night of the new moon), a formidable conflict took place between King Vāṇa and Shri Kṛṣṇa, in which, as soon as the latter had lopped off the arms of his opponent with his discus named Sudarshana and prepared himself to cut off his head, Shamkara (Shiva) cried out: 'Don't, oh don't, behead my Vāṇa; don't cut off Vāṇa's head, rather withdraw your Sudarshana.'—*Dharma Samhitā*.

"At this the Lord Shri Kṛṣṇa said: 'Let then your Vāṇa live. Here do I recall my discus.'

"Then, with gracious words, Nandi (gate-keeper of and constant attendant on Shiva) said to Vāṇa; 'Yes, with these wounds on your person, just approach Shiva, the God of Gods'. Upon this King Vāṇa made all haste to approach the Lord Shiva; and powerful Nandi took him up in his own chariot and landed him at the door of Shiva, saying: 'Vāṇa, just go and continue to dance in the presence of Mahādeva. In this way alone are you likely to receive his blessings.' Greatly composed at this, King Vāṇa, distracted with fears, but anxious for the preservation of his life, approached Mahādeva with his bloodstained body, and, with great trepidation, began to dance ceaselessly."

The above account is similar to that of *Khila Harivamsha*; but the description of the dance by Vāṇa is different in the *Dharma Samhitā* of *Śhiva Purāṇa*, where it is said:—

"Although at that time King Vāṇa had only one head and two feet, yet, in obedience to the instructions of Nandi, he began to exhibit extraordinary performances in dancing before the Lord Shiva, such as the *Ālīdha* (an attitude of shooting, with the right knee advanced and the left leg retracted), the *Pramukha*, the *Vividhākāra* (cutting many figures), the *Shāli* and the *Sthāna Panchaka*, exhibiting gradually a thousand ways of shaking the head, and a thousand modes of the *Pratyanika* dance, as well as the several figures of the *Chāri* dance."

Thus King Vāṇa danced before the Lord Shiva. The mask-dances of *Kālī*, *Chāmundā*, *Narasimhi*, etc., in the *Gambhīrā* are similarly performed. Their gestures and postures seem to be influenced by ideas and sentiments described in such Sanskrit texts. The difference between these and modern methods of dancing is very slight.

Various performances by Vāṇa.

The Gambhīrā dance, an imitation of this.

(b) Shiva's Boons to Vāṇa.

Mahādeva, always kind to his devotees, felt great commiseration at the distress of King Vāṇa, and was highly moved to see him dance ceaselessly in this almost unconscious state. Then he said to Vāṇa: "My child, I have been touched to the quick at the sight of your distress. I have been highly pleased, however, with your devotion. Now, but ask for the boon of your heart, and it shall be granted to you."

Vāṇa replied: "My lord, if this be your pleasure, then grant me this boon, that I may ever be above decrepitude and death. This is my first prayer."

Mahādeva said: "Child, I grant that, equally with the gods, you will live for ever, defying death. You are an object of great favour with me. Ask any other boon of me, and I shall be glad to grant it."

Vāṇa added: "If so be your pleasure, then, O Lord, grant me this further boon, that if ever any of your devotees dance before you as I have done, afflicted with grief, wounded with arrows and with my body bathed in blood, he will attain to the state of your own child".

Mahādeva replied: "Child, that devotee of mine who is simple and straightforward and ever devoted to the truth, and will thus dance before me observing the vow of fast, will obtain these very rewards. Now, ask for such a third boon as you like, and I shall grant you that also."

Vāṇa said: "O Bhava (lit. that which exists, a name of Shiva), may you, then, be pleased to assuage the terrible pain that the discus has caused in my body".

Not only was this prayer granted, but also the God of Gods offered to grant him yet another boon. And, overjoyed at this, King Vāṇa said: "Be pleased to grant me then this boon, that I may be the chief of

your pramathas (attendants on Shiva), and be known for ever under the name of Mahākāla". This prayer was also conceded.

(c) *Faith of Modern Shaivas in Vāṇa-legend.*

Thus here do we find the origin of the fasts and other austerities, such as the piercing of the body with arrows, as well as of the dance and revelries that are practised on the occasion of the Chaitra festivities, otherwise known as the Chadaka-pujā, held in honour of Shiva. This will be more clear and apparent when we consider that the author of the legend has it pronounced through the lips of Mahādeva himself that those of his votaries who will dance like Vāṇa, observing the vow of fast, will obtain the same merits as Vāṇa. It is a great temptation for the ordinary followers of Shiva to be thus able to attain to the position of Shiva's son and constant attendant, basking in the sunshine of his presence. It is for this reason that during the Chaitra festivities the devotees are seen to dance fantastic and ghastly dances before the image of Shiva, with their bodies pierced with arrows and bathed in blood. Fasts and music and revelries are also observed as additional inducements to purchase the favour of Shiva. It is under the influence of the above persuasion that even now infants are made to dance before the Gambhīra temple of Ādyā. The people firmly believe that by this means they will attain to longevity, position and wealth in this life and immortality in the next.

SECTION III.—*DHARMA SAMHITĀ*: REFERENCES TO MASKS.

We shall now proceed to inquire into the reason why it has become a practice with the votaries of Shiva to dance and sing before his image disguising themselves

as Kālī, Durgā, Chāmundā, ghosts and apparitions. Masks are put on in connexion with the Gājan of Shiva in Rādha (West Bengal), the marriage of Shiva in Shāntipur (Nadia), and the Gambhīrā and the Shiva festivities of Malda and North Bengal, and also on the morning of the Nilāpujā day at Kālighāt (Calcutta).

That these songs and dances were introduced on the basis of mythological events and incidents is borne out by *Dharma Samhitā*, a part of *Shiva Samhitā*. The mask-dances of Gaurī, Kālī, Chāmundā, Chandī, Vāsulī, etc., that we now see in connexion with the Gambhīrā, are in agreement with the *Purānas* and in fact based on them.

(a) *Disguises of Shiva's Attendants.*

The god Shiva has been represented as Natarāja or lord of dance and revelry. No wonder, therefore—rather it is natural—that his devotees should have recourse to these means to gain his favour.

We read in *Dharma Samhitā* that one day, while diverting himself according to his pleasure, Chandra Shekhara (lit. one with the moon on his forehead, a name of Shiva) ordered his attendant Nandi with a glad heart: "Go, O Vānarānana (lit. having a face like that of a monkey, an epithet of Nandi, who had such a face), under my orders to the mountain of Kailāsa (reputed to be the abode of Shiva) and bring Gaurī, adorned with ornaments, to me without delay". When Nandi had gone away, the Apsarās (nymphs) began to indulge in talks like this: "What woman is there save Dākṣāyaṇī (daughter of Dakṣa, i.e. Gaurī, wife of Shiva) that can dare touch his person?" Upon this stood up Chitralekṣhā, daughter of Kumbhānda, and, addressing her sisters, said: "I can personate Gaurī and thus touch him, if any one of you will but be able to assume the

form of Nandi. It is no hard work with the friends of Gauri to assume her form." At this, concentrating her mind upon the Vaiṣṇava process of yoga, Urvashī appeared as Nandi, and this led the other nymphs to assume forms other than their own. Thus, Pram-nochi personated Sāvitrī; Menakā, Gāyatrī; Saha-janyā, Jayā; Kunjikasthālī, Vijayā; and Kratusthālī, Vināyaka—and so excellently that there was no means of seeing through the plot and recognizing who they really were. Last of all, Chitrālekṣhā, the daughter of Kumbhānda, who was an adept in the art of personating and had an excellent power of imitation, inspired by beholding the elegance and perfection of these players' persons, took recourse to the special form of yoga known as Vaiṣṇava-Atma Yoga, and in no time stood before them, and to the surprise and admiration of all, as Pārvatī herself, of celestial beauty and uncommon charms. It was indeed a masterpiece of personation; even the most trained eyes would have failed to distinguish these imitation jewels from genuine ones. The merry jingle-jangle of their celestial anklets filled the whole place.

Chitrālekṣhā assumes the form of Pārvatī or Gaurī.

Now, thus disguised, Urvashī approached Shiva and addressed him in these words: "O Lord of Gods, the heavenly mothers (a class of sixteen goddesses, such as Gaurī, Padmā, etc.) and, myself, with Gaurī and the Gaṇas (lit. a host, legion; the large number of Shiva's spiritual attendants) have thus approached you. Be pleased, O Sire, to bless us with a benign look." What Shiva did in reply to this amorous address is thus described in *Dharma Samhitā*:—

False Nandi's address to Mahādeva.

"Thus addressed by him and seemingly pleased with it, Rudra (Mahādeva) left his seat and, one by one, took seven steps forward . . ."

(b) The "Comedy of Errors".

Amorous di-
versions of
Shiva with
the false
Pārvatī.

Then he took Pārvatī by the hand and commenced a round of amorous diversions. This was followed by "the dissimulating mothers all dancing and singing to please Shiva—some dancing, some singing, some smiling (amorous) smiles, and others diverting in other ways".

Dance, etc.,
by the false
mothers.

The false mothers set to dancing and singing round merry Shiva. Some of them added to the joy of the merry couple by dancing and singing suitably to the occasion, and also by the genial glow of their illuminating smiles. The other thousand and one mothers made various sweet sounds, and also made some strange ones. Some among the latter "sang, danced, smiled and even wept".

Real Gaurī
appears on
the scene.

Shiva lost himself in this vortex of merry-making, and was utterly transported with delight, when there appeared on the scene the genuine Nandī with the genuine mothers, closely followed by the real Gaurī, charmingly dressed, descending from her aerial car with the host of her spirit attendants. The surprise that greeted the latter, when the two sets confronted each other, was beyond description.

"All the (merry) party started up, thinking again and again: 'Who is this Pārvatī—who is this goddess, so richly dressed and so beautiful?'"

There being no distinguishing marks—not even the slightest—between the genuine and the counterfeit Pārvatī, the whole party was lost in confusion.

Nay, the confusion became worse confounded when it was discovered that even the mothers and the other attendants could not be set the real against the sham. This was, however, a source of infinite secret pleasure to the counterfeit mistress and she burst into a peal of merry laughter. The Apsarās also, extremely amused,

gave vent to their delight with their natural kilkil sounds. The ghosts and goblins and the Yakṣas (demi-god attendants on Kuvera, employed in the protection of his treasures), too, became mad with delight. Even Shiva himself became highly amused with and greatly enjoyed this "comedy of errors". He was equally delighted with the actions of the Apsarās.

(c) *Masks and "Comedy of Errors" in Modern Shaiva Lore.*

It is this "comedy of errors" which caused so much delight to Shiva that may be taken to be the origin of the practice that has obtained in Ādyā's Gambhīrā with the votaries of Shiva to dress themselves in various disguises for dancing in the hope of thus propitiating the god. And the enjoyable diversion of putting the husband to confusion with regard to his wife has become one of the most entertaining performances of the Gambhīrā-players. Then in course of time came to be introduced, by way of further embellishment, the various other mask-dances, such as those of the various forms that, according to the Tantrist, the goddess Satī (Gaurī in her previous birth, also as the consort of Shiva) assumed to frighten Shiva into permitting her to attend the grand sacrifice that her father Dakṣa was holding but to which her husband had not been invited, and also of the terrible Chāmundā and other forms that the goddess is said to have assumed in the course of the Shumbha-Nishumbha war for the destruction of the formidable demons, Chanda and Munda.

The sanction for all the incidents in the Shaiva festivities of modern Folk-Bengal is thus to be found not only in vernacular treatises specially written for the purpose, but also in the more authoritative *Purāṇas* composed in Sanskrit language. It is for this reason

that there has ever been in India a community of thought between the masses and the classes, and a natural and necessary connexion of culture-lore with folk-lore. Through all the rungs of the intellectual and moral ladder, from the most nonsensical superstition to the most abstract metaphysics, there runs one increasing purpose which makes the whole Hindu world kin.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INVENTION OF GODS AND GODDESSES BY THE PEOPLE.

THERE has been a multiplication of gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon¹ during the successive ages of Indian history. The literature and art of each age reflect the inventiveness of folk-imagination as displayed in the creation of new orders of deities to help man in the solution of new problems of life.

When the Vedic Aryans gathered together to perform sacrifices to propitiate the gods, the list of the latter contained the names of Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Rudra, Vāyu, Mitra, Puṣa, Bhaga, Aditya and Aditi, Sinivali, Saraswatī, Mahatī, Sītā, etc. Like the Aryan warriors, Rudra also was decorated with a crown and other ornaments, wielded bows and arrows and prepared medicines with his own hands. Ulluka has been described as a messenger of Yama. Mention is made also of Lakṣmī and Alakṣmī.

Kālī, Karālī, Manojavā, Sulchitā, Sudhumravarnā, Sphulinginī and goddess Vishwarupinī—all these have been described in the *Munduka Upaniṣad* as flames of fire and of the form of fire. Durgā also was only a name of fire.

We find the name of Umā in the *Kena Upaniṣad*,

¹ Vide Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, Fausboll's *Indian Mythology*, and Niveditā and Coomāraswāmy's *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists*.

but not till then as the wife of Rudra. She introduces Brahmā to Indra. When the gods were unable to recognize fire and the other forms of Brahman, then it was this Umā that sang his glories.

Post-Vedic
Gods.

With the passing away of the Vedic age the forms and attributes of the gods suffered a change. Indra, Agni, Rudra, Vāyu, and Aditi, Saraswati, Sītā, Kālī, Karālī, Durgā, Umā, etc., had now definite forms attributed to them and were made to share in the enjoyments and sufferings of the world. Detailed accounts of the Post-Vedic deities are to be found in the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Shrimad Bhāgavata*, as well as in the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Devi*, *Kālikā* and many other *Purāṇas* and *Upapurāṇas*.

Gods of the
Rāmāyana.

The great poet, Vālmīki, has furnished us in his *Rāmāyana* with a very long list of gods and goddesses. Indra was then the King of Heaven and a warrior. He used even to fight with men. He used to ride an elephant with four tusks, named Airāvata. Brahmā was a four-faced, four-handed god, riding a goose. His worship was now introduced. Rudra, Sāyana and Yaska are no longer the names of fire. The Rudra of the Vedic age, who used to prepare medicines, has now been transferred to the Kailāsa mountain to live there.

Goddesses of
the Mārkaṇ-
ḍeya Chandi.

Shiva has been given many wives, such as Durgā, Chandikā, Kālī, Chāmundā, etc. They have been accorded a higher position than the gods and described as Ādyā Shakti (primordial energy). Yama, Indra, Brahmā and the other lesser gods have been made to acknowledge the suzerainty and bow to the will of Durgā.

Gods of the
Mahābhārata.

Indra is endowed with a thousand eyes, and Yama, the god of death, is said to have sprung from the planet Shani (Saturn) and to have been placed in charge of

hell. He rides a buffalo, and Vāyu, the god of wind, a deer. Agni has been conceived as riding a goat. Charmed by the devotion of his votaries, Shiva is found to have condescended to serve them. And it has become a practice to offer worship to Indra and his wife, and to Shiva and his wife.

With a view to having a son born to him, Vāsudeva retires into the hermitage of Vadarikā and there sits down in meditation on Shiva. Vāsudeva, Valarāma and Arjuna have been exalted to the rank of gods. Valarāma has been recognized as one of the incarnations.

Indra becomes a god of the Buddhists, Jains and Kāpālikas. Shiva now drinks the juice of Hātaka (gold) and resides in the place of cremation. Umā, Durgā and Kālī are his wives. Palm-juice and other kinds of beverage have become favourite drinks of the followers of Shiva. Dakṣa has become the father-in-law of Shiva. Kṛṣṇa is said to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Indra, Brahmā and Shiva have been relegated to a lower position than Viṣṇu and subordinated to him.

In *Nāradya* and *Dharma Purāṇas*, etc., the glories of Viṣṇu have been described. Although mention is made in these of Shiva and his Shakti, a less importance has been assigned to them. Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī have been included in the family of Shiva.

In the *Liṅga*, *Śhiva*, *Devī* and *Kālikā Purāṇas*, Shiva and his Shakti have been assigned a superior place to the other gods. In *Śhiva Purāṇa*, Shiva is said to have one thousand names.

In *Padma Purāṇa* we hear of the interruption and breaking up of the sacrifice arranged by Dakṣa (father of Shiva's wife, Satī, who sank down to death on the sacrificial ground on hearing of the vilification of her husband by her father), of Dakṣa's ultimate repentance

Gods of the
Harivamsha.

Gods of the
Shrimad
Bhāgavata.

Padma
Purāṇa.

and pacifying Shiva by singing his glories, and of his gaining boons from the god in conclusion. Thus the book is devoted to the extollation of Shiva. We find in it also an account of the journey of gods with Brahmā and Shiva to Vaikuntha (the abode of Viṣṇu). Reference is made in this also to the story of the construction of a gold image of Sitā (it is said in the *Rāmāyana* that while performing the Ashwamedha sacrifice Rāma had a gold image of Sitā made to take the place of his wife by his side).

The Gods in
the Samhitās.

There are several *Samhitās* (codes of law, conduct, etc.) following the line of the *Shiva Purāṇa*, such as *Dharma Samhitā*, *Jñāna Samhitā*, *Sanatkumāra Samhitā*, *Vāyaviya Samhitā*, etc. In these *Samhitās* we hear of many gods, but the preference is given to Shiva and Shakti.

Like the other *Purāṇas*, the *Skanda* also contains accounts of gods and goddesses. The special feature of this work is that in it we are told of Kāla Bhairava and of the sudden springing into existence of Bhadrakālī and Virabhadra out of the spleen of Shiva.

In the *Varāha Purāṇa* we find accounts of many gods and of the construction of their images.

Gods in the
Tantras.

In the *Uddishā*, *Damara*, *Nakulishā* and the other *Tantras*¹ preference has been given to Shiva and his Shaktis and the various modes of their worship have been described. Also Mahakāla, Shiva, Bhairava, Bhairavī, the Dākinīs and the Yoginīs (classes of female demi-gods) have been elevated to the rank of gods.

Gods of the
Jaina
Purāṇas.

Like the *Purāṇas* of the Hindus, the Jains² also have *Purāṇas* of their own. In these, besides their Tirthamkaras, the Hindu deities also have been mentioned.

¹ Vide Avalon's *Hymns to the Goddess* and other works on *Tantras*.

² Vide Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism*.

The Jaina *Ādi Purāṇa* gives us an account of god Rishabha, on the occasion of whose nativity Indra, his wife and the other gods and goddesses came down to the place.

In the Jaina *Padma Purāṇa* we meet with peculiar accounts of Indra, Hanumān, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. In the *Aṛiṣṭanemi Purāṇa* mention is made of Durgā. In the Jaina work named *Bhagavati Sutra* we find descriptions of the images of the Tirthamkaras. They are adorned with snakes as ornaments. Many of the Jaina gods receive worship. Dhyāni (absorbed in meditation) Pārshwanātha looks like Dhyāni Shiva.

Like the Jainas, the Buddhists also have their own *Purāṇas*. The majority of these are devoted to extolling the greatness of Buddha. In *Suvarṇaprabhā*, however, we meet with invocations to Lakṣmi and Sarasvatī.

Gods of the
Buddhist
Purāṇas.

The Buddhists¹ call their *Sādhnamālā* and *Sādhana Samuchchaya* Tantric works. These belong to the Mahāyāna sect. In these we meet with descriptions of the images of the Bodhisattvas, named Lokeshwara, Maitreya and Manjushri. The other name of Lokeshwara is Lokanātha. We find the following and other names of Buddhist gods : Avalokiteshwara, Khasarpana Lokeshwara, Halāhala Lokeshwara, Simhanāda Lokeshwara, Hari-hari-hari Vāhanodbhava, Lokeshwara, Troilokya-bhayamkara Lokeshwara, Padmanarteshwara Lokeshwara, Nilakanthā-chāryya Lokeshwara, etc. On the left side of many of the images of Lokanātha Buddha, a female figure named Tārā is found to have been placed. In *Sādhnamālā* a description of the person of Mahottari Tārā has been given. The Buddhist work of *Svatantra Tantra* contain an account of Tārā Devī, and elsewhere mention is found to have been made

Gods of the
Buddhist
Tantras.

¹ Vide Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism*.

of Nila Saraswatī Tārā Devī. Tārā is of dark complexion and has three eyes. The following description of Vajra Tārā is to be found in *Sādhana Samuchchaya*: "Four-faced, eight-armed and adorned with various ornaments" Like the Hindu Tantric works, those of the Buddhists also tell us of many forms of Shakti.

Gods of the
Shunya
Purāṇa and
Dharma-pujā-
paddhati.

In the *Shunya Purāṇa* and *Dharma-pujā-paddhati* of Rāmāi, among others we meet with the following deities: Dharma Niranjana, Ullukai, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheshwara, Yama, Indra, Nārada with his conveyance, the Dhenki, Dāmarasāin, Mahākāla, Ādyā, Chandī and Durgā.

Gods of
Dharma
Mangala and
later mediaeval
Bengali
works.

In the *Dharma Mangala* of Ghanarāma, Maṇik Ganguli and Yātrāsiddhi Ray, mention is made of Dharma, Hanumān and the gods of *Shunya Purāṇa*.

In the poetical works called *Chandī* by Kavikamkana (Mukundarāma), Mānik Datta and others, accounts are found of Ādyā, Chandī, Shiva and the other Hindu deities.

In the Viṣahari Songs we meet with accounts of Shiva, Manasā (the goddess of snakes) and many other Hindu gods. In some of these *Lays of Manasā* mention is made also of Ādyā.

*Shitalā Mangala*¹ tells us of god Niranjana, Shiva, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, etc., as well as of Ādyā. In the story of Shitalā also we find an account of her worship as antidote against small-pox.

Gods and goddesses like these, more or less affiliated to the Shaiva-cum-Shākta pantheon, were invented by mediaeval Folk-Bengal principally to help man in the battle of life. They are all embodiments of shakti (energy), and are meant (1) to do away with enemies and

¹ Shitalā—mentioned in *Pichchikūlā Tantra* and *Shanda Purāṇa*. Buddhist goddess Hārītī resided in the temple of Lokeshwara. The Hindu Shitalā is identical with this Hārītī.

difficulties, both natural and human, and (2) to promote health, wealth, success in life and general prosperity. *Pari passu* there was being created another order of divinities designed mainly as "Great Exemplars," from whom could be learnt the duties and obligations of life, individual, domestic and social. The ideal relations between parent and offspring, husband and wife, brother and brother, friend and friend, ruler and subject, master and servant, etc., were the themes of the literature and art which brought into prominence this new class of gods and goddesses. And the attribute chiefly personated by these deities is bhakti (love), the emotional element in humanity. Gods as embodiments of love and teachers of duty.

The bhakti or devotional literature has since about the fifteenth century been the inspiration of the folk by appealing mainly to the sentiments of Love, Faith and Hope as contrasted with the practices of intellectual gymnastics and ratiocinative argumentation. The deities of this literature are (1) Rāma and his consort Sītā, as well as the ancestors and allies of the great hero; and (2) Kṛṣṇa and his sweetheart Rādhā, as well as their parents and personal friends. The note of love and faith is also the characteristic of the *Māli Songs* of Rāmaprasāda, the great saint, devoted to Kālī or Tārā (wife of Shiva), of the eighteenth century.

It may be said that the Folk-Bengal of the nineteenth century has not cared much to inquire into the Sanskrit *Vedas*, *Saṃhitās*, *Purāṇas*, *Tantras*, etc., for the origins and legends of its faith and devotion, but has sought for the "whole duty of man" in Bengali treatises like Kṛtīvāsā's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Vidyāpati and Chandidāsa's *Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī*, and the *Kālī Songs* of Mukundarāma and Rāmaprasāda. Through all this literature there has been a steady increase in the number of gods and goddesses, saints and avatāras. In some cases a

new interpretation has been imparted to the older deities and heroes, who have thereby acquired an altogether fresh significance in the people's thought and activity. There has been no generation of Bengali history without its own mythology, hagiology and anthology.

Agnosticism
leading to
polytheism.

This is perfectly natural: because the Hindu is fundamentally an agnostic, i.e. has never believed in the possibility of human intelligence ever to unravel the mysterious eternal truths of the universe, or to understand, except negatively, the nature and attributes of God; and therefore he has ever felt to be at complete liberty to *imagine* and invent whatsoever God or Gods he chooses to adore. He has not feared to conceive the Divinity as He, She, It or They. He has worshipped his Deity as father, mother, brother, sister, sweetheart, lover, friend, and what not; and has endowed his own creation or invention with any attributes he likes for the time being. He has borrowed his god-lore from the Mongols, he has taken his god-lore from the hill-tribes, he has imbibed his god-lore from the speechless message of sunshine and snows, and he has evolved his god-lore out of his own head and heart. His polytheism or heinotheism is based essentially on his agnosticism.

Motherland as
Divinity.

The Hindu tendency to deify the energies, Nature-Forces or personal attributes and emotions has constructed all the gods and goddesses of India, practically speaking, as so many embodiments of the various phases of the Country itself and of the Culture it has developed through the ages. And the invention of deities has not yet ceased.

The "Knight-poet" Rabindranāth Tagore, probably an iconoclast in socio-religious opinions, has been, however, pre-eminently an idolator, nay a polytheist, in and through his art. His celebrated hymn (c. 1895) to Mother

India is in the right orthodox strain which is noticeable in the psalms and songs in eulogy of Saraswatī (Goddess of Learning), Lakṣmī (Goddess of Wealth), Durgā, Jagaddhātṛī and other goddesses :—

" O Thou, who charimest all mankind !
 O Thou, whose lands are ever bright
 With ray serene of pure sun-light !
 Mother of fathers and mothers !
 With the blue deep's waters thy feet ev'r wash'd,
 Thy scarf of green ever waving in breeze,
 Sky-kiss'd on high thine Himālayan brow,
 Crown'd white thy head with tiara of snows.
 First in thy firmament appear'd the dawn,
 First rose *sāma*-chants in thy holy groves,
 First were reveal'd in thy forest-abodes
 Wisdom and virtue and poesy's self,
 Ever beneficent ! glory to Thee !
 From Thee flows food to countries far and wide ;
 Jāhnavī and Jumna, streams of thy love ;
 Giver of sweet sacred milk, O Mother ! "

It is again the traditional folk-imagination, saturated with the monism of Vedantic thought, that has inspired the following verses of Tāgore :—

" O Thou Dust of my Motherland !
 Down to Thee alone do I bend my head.
 Upon Thee is the mantle spread
 Of universe-bodied Mother Divine ! "

The same deification of the Country is evident in the following outburst (1905) of Dwijendralāl Roy :—

" Goddess mine ! Meditation's Aim !
 Country mine ! O Heaven on earth ! "

But the man who has started them all in this modern Bengali Bhakti-literature is Bankimchandra Chatterji. According to him the ten-armed Durgā (wife of Shiva) with her whole family and retinue, the most popular goddess of Hindu Bengal in the nineteenth century, who

*Synthesis of
 shakti and
 bhakti in the
 Country-cult.*

was, as we have seen in the foregoing pages, one of the Tārās (Energy) of Avalokiteshwara Bodhisattva in mediæval Mahāyānic India and still receives worship as Tārā in Buddhist China and Buddhist Japan, is none other than Motherland itself with all its resources and forces in natural agents and human arts. This synthetic interpretation crystallized in the song *Vande Mātaram* (c. 1885), is bound to remain the greatest hymn of Folk-India during the twentieth century :—

" Hail ! Motherland !

Vande Mātaram !

Thou art my muse, Thyself my creed ;

In Thee my heart and soul ;

And in my limbs the spirit Thou !

In mine arm Thou art strength (shakti) ;

Thyself heart's devotion (bhakti) ;

Thine the images bodied forth

In temples one and all, Mother ! "

To worship Durgā is to worship Motherland ; or, to worship Motherland is to worship Durgā. This is the cult that in diverse forms has been invented by the brain and soul of India from the Vedic age of the adoration of World-Forces down to the present epoch of neo-Tantrism represented by Bankimchandra and Rāmakrishna-Vivekānanda.¹

¹ *Vide* Max Müller's *Rāmakrishna : His Life and Teachings* (Scribner, New York).

INDEX I.

SUBJECTS.

A.

- Absolution conditional on confession, 20, 136.
- Adultery, old Hindu punishment for, 235.
- Ādyā (Chandikā, Gaunt, Durgā):—
An impersonification of primordial energy, 199, 222.
Another name of Ārya Tārā, Buddhist goddess, 87 (note).
Called Ādyā as first or primitive deity, 63, 68.
Counsels Shiva to take to agriculture, 223.
Dharma predicts her marriage to Shiva in her next birth, 199.
Drinking seed of Dharma, bears Vasu, Brahmā, and Shiva, 199, 222.
Gods invited to hear music in her honour, 126.
Hinduization of, shown by her marriage ceremony, first to Dharma, later to Shiva, 87, 229-30.
Hinduized as Durgā by Rāmāi, 200.
Identified with Chandikā, Bhavāni and Durgā by Mānik Datta, 233.
Installed in Malda Gaṇiḥhīrā and ultimately worshipped as Chandikā and regarded as the wife of Shiva, 68, 69.
Marriage of, concluded Dharma's Gājan, 99.
— to Shiva, how performed, 230-1.
Mentioned in Mahāyānic Buddhist works, 258.
Presiding goddess of Dharma's Gājan, 95.
Sprang from the body, smile or sweat of Dharma, 95-6, 198, 222.
- Agnosticism, fundamental in the Hindu, leads to free invention and imaginative treatment of gods, 260.
- Agricultural implements manufactured for Shiva, 83.
- Āhārā ceremonies, 56-7.
- Akbar's protection of Hindu learning and arts, 218.
- Ālipāra:—
Mural painting with rice-paste, a characteristic Indian art, 19.
Used in decorating Gambhīrā temples, 19.
Women excel in this art and probably invented it, 19.
- Anna Prāsthana:—
First presentation of rice to a child, 61.
- Animals, etc., in Hindu Mythology and Ritual:—
Buffalo, ridden by Yama, 30, 83, 253.
Bull, ox, the steed of Shiva, 29, 44, 46, 83, 222, 230, 239.
Cow, divine, feeds and purifies, 28-9.
Cows, slaughter of, 227.
Crab, fetches earth for Dharma, 27, 32.
Crocodile of Shiva, 79.
Crow, 227.
Deer, steed of Vāyu, 255.
Elephant, created by Dharma to bear the earth, 42.
— ridden by Akṣobhya, 146.
— — Indra, 223, 254.
Frog, created as food for the Serpēt, 43.
Garuda, King of Birds, ridden by Vasu and Amoghasiddhi, 146.
Gibbon, adviser of Dharma, 28, 30, 40 (note), 41.
Goat, vehicle of Agni, 255.
Goats, offerings of, 97, 200.
Goose, ridden by Brahmā, 198, 254.
Hansa-rajā, King of Geese, 227.
Horse, ridden by Dharma, 224.

Animals, etc., in Hindu Mythology and Ritual—*cont.*—

Horse ridden by Ratnasambhava, 146.

— taken by Indra, 29.

— the white, 30, 31.

Lion, guardian of the Four Doors, 49-50.

— ridden by Durgā, 30, 39, 230.

— — Vairocana, 146.

Makara, steed of Gaṅgā, 30.

Monkey, follower of Rāma, 35.

— incarnation of Buddha, 40 (note).

Moose, ridden by Gaṇeśa, the Success-giver, 29.

Owl, ridden by Lakṣmī, 30.

Peacock (or goose), ridden by Amitābha, 146.

— ridden by Kārtika, God of War, 29.

Sakula fish, 58.

Serpent, created by Dharma, 43, 198, 222.

Snakes:—

Hayagrīva's, 179, 180.

Manasā, Goddess of, 258.

Shiva's, 230.

Tārā's, 184.

Tirhamkaras', 257.

Swan, ridden by Brahmā, 30.

Tiger, 192.

Tiger-skin of Hayagrīva, 180.

Tortoise, emblem of formless Dharma, 100.

— last support of the earth, 27, 42, 198, 222.

Ullukā, Bird of Dharma, 41 (note), 198, 222.

Anthropomorphic ideas of Fire-gods, the origin of image-worship, 12.

Āraṭi, or wave offering, 27, 44.

Ariz, the fine:—

Highest water-mark reached in Bengal in twelfth century, 312.

Love for kindied by Gaṇbhīrā, 17.

Asiatics, characterized by a common mentality, xi.

Assam modern Buddhist festivities resemble Gaṇbhīrā, 6.

Astrological detail in Shiva worship, 235.

Atisha (or Dipamkara Śrījñāna):—

A Buddhist ascetic, early eleventh century representative of Tantric Buddhism, 189.

A practiser of Tantric magic himself, but forbade it to other Buddhists, 192.

Atisha (or Dipamkara Śrījñāna)—*cont.*—

Consults Tārā, his inspirer, as to a journey to Tibet, 190.

Meets Tārā as yoginī, 191.

Reads the minds of robbers and hypnotizes them through the grace of Tārā, 191.

Worships deceased ancestor at Tibet, 191.

Yoga feats of a disciple, 192.

Attitudes, sacred:—

Abhaya, suggesting hope and reassurance, 184.

Padmāsana, a sitting posture of Buddha, 180, 181, 230.

Vyākhyāna, intertwining the fingers of both hands in worship, 181.

Āṭa Chānd:—

Foundling, and founder of a new creed, 33-4 (note).

Ignored caste, 34 (note).

Performed miracles, 24 (note).

Preached in Bengali, 33-4 (note).

Sect of, worships Maker alone, but uses idols, 34 (note).

Song in his honour, 34-5 (note).

Avalokiteśvara (Khasarpana Lokeshvara):—

A Mahāyānic Buddhist god, 145.

A Tantric god: his attributes, 178-9, 180, 181.

Distinctly a copy of Shiva, 181.

Estimated perhaps above Buddha, 177-8.

Firmly established in Harṣa Vardhana's time, 178.

Mentioned in Buddhist Tantric works, 257.

Resemblance to Shiva noted by Hsien Tsang, 186.

Wears Amitābha Buddha on his head, causing Hindus to confound him with Shiva wearing Gaṅgā, 178, 180.

Avatāras, gods incarnate, 137.

B.

Bengali:—

Appreciated and made literary by Mohammedana, 217.

Despised by Brāhmanas and Rājās, 217.

Important to future historians, 25-6.

MSS., viii, 26, 31.

Novels, xv.

Bengali—cont.—

- Only easily accessible works referred to, xi.
- Research, vii.
- Bhaktas or Sannyāsīs:—**
- Ascetic and other votaries of Shiva, 4, 26, 32.
- Chief of, privileged to assist in the worship, 52.
- Initiation of, in Epic times, 9.
- In the modern Gājan, 75-6.
- Methods described in their hymns, 26.
- Mostly salaried, sometimes hereditary, 32.
- Mula-sannyāsī, chief votary in Gājan festivities, 74.
- Tāmasika, or ignorant class of Bhaktas, 4.
- Vāla-bhaktas, boy-votaries, 53.
- Bhavānī:—**
- First deity, representing entire divine energy, 28.
- Identified with *Ādyā* and *Durgā*, 233.
- Bhikṣus**, Buddhist mendicants who renounce public worship, 144.
- Bhutan festivities resembling Gam-bhīra, 6.
- Birth stories: Buddha's birth as a monkey, 40 (note).
- Blacksmith, or Potter (*Kāla*), assists at the Creation, 27, 32.
- Blind singer, 2, 123.
- Brāhmanas:—**
- Attempt revival of Vedism in Gauda under Shura kings, 164, 165.
- Codes of, still govern Hindu life in Bengal, 211.
- Converted to Buddhism, 146.
- Shaivism, 165.
- Dipamkara* *Śhrījnāna*, minister of *Mahāpāla*, greatly promotes Tantric Buddhism in Gauda, 172.
- Feasted by *Yudhiṣṭhira*, 9.
- Fraternize with *Mahāyāna* Buddhists, 144.
- Gājane Brāhmana, middle status of, 76 (note).
- Greatly respected by Pāla kings, 166, 167.
- Incorporate Buddhist deities as safer than suppressing them, 202.
- foreign gods also, 202-3.
- Influence of, under the Pālas, helps Shaivism to displace Buddhism, 169, 170, 171.
- Neglect Vedism for Tantricism under the Senas, 207.

Brāhmanas—cont.—

- Prime ministers of the Pālas, 166, 170, 171.
- Ring bells at birthday festival of *Shākyasimha*, 123.
- Social influence of, under the Senas: leaders of Hinduism, 205, 211.
- Under Mohammedans, despised Buddhists as "untouchable" and violently opposed their worship, 219, 220.
- Vallāla* Sena banishes Brāhmanas for oppression, 207-8.
- Vateshwara* Swāmin recites *Mahābhārata* to Queen *Chitramatikā*, 174.
- Brāhmanism (see Hinduism):—
- An ambiguous term, xv.
- Brāhmana, said to have been created by *Brahmā* from his mouth, 28 (note).
- Gods of, 253-4.
- Buddha, the Protector (equivalent to the Hindu *Viṣṇu*):—
- As *Adi Buddha*, or *Dharma*, floated on his conveyance, *Ulluka* the Gibbon, 40 (note).
- As *Shākyasimha*, born on the full-moon day of *Vaiśākha*, and died on the same day, 133.
- Birthday and national festivals held therefore on *Vaiśākha Purnimā* day, 135.
- Chariot festivities of, 13.
- Dharma* like *Adi Buddha's* son, or an emanation from him, 94, 95.
- Disappeared from Hinduism as a god, but his spirit remains in the later faiths, xvi.
- Entertained by acting, 14.
- Entrusts to Shiva protection of Buddhism from Sakas, 173.
- Formless, without attributes, 94.
- Image of *Lokeshwara* Buddha con-founded with that of *Shiva*, 165, 171, 173.
- Incarnation as a monkey, 40-1 (note).
- Lotus, his seat, 40 (note).
- Memorial mound and place of festival, 135.
- Offerings of food to, not opposed to Buddhism, 148.
- Without beginning or end, 94.
- Buddhism:—
- An ambiguous term, xv.
- Ancient Buddhism still lives in and through the modern Hindu cults, xvi.

Buddhism—cont.—

- Assemblies for definition of the faith, 142.
- Brāhmanas as prime ministers of the Pālas favour displacement of Buddhism by Śaivism in Gauda, 166, 167, 169, 170.
- Chinese, Korean, Japanese and Indian forms similar because of common origin, xv-xvi.
- Confusion of Hindu with Buddhist gods leads to confusion of temples, 173.
- Congresses attended by Buddhists from different countries, 130.
- used to promote fraternity among Buddhists of all sects, 131.
- Dharmapāla's tolerance of Hinduism handicaps Buddhism, 166.
- Distinction between Buddhism and Śaivism lost under later Pālas, 172, 173, 174.
- Elephant worship, 43 (note).
- Festivities in Assam and Burmah resemble Gambhīra, 6.
- in seventh century described by Hsien Tsang and marking transition from Buddhism to neo-Hinduism, 13-14, 119, 124, 131, 154-8.
- Gājan of Dharma, 93-102.
- Gods of, incorporated with Hindu gods, 146, 165.
- Impersonality of, cause of displacement by the more personal religions, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, 23.
- Īśaṇeswara worshipped as Shiva, 165, 173.
- Mādhyamika sect, connecting link with Hinduism through Tantrism, 175.
- Mahādeva's atheality entrance into Buddhist pantheon, 146.
- Modification of religion by replacement of gods, 14, 87 (note).
- Ringings of bells and singing of hymns inviolable duties, 124.
- Sects arising from assemblies defining the Canon, 142.
- Tantric form of, greatly promoted by Dipamkara Śrījñāna, 172.
- — similar to that of Śaivism, 171, 172.
- Tortoise worship, 43 (note), 100.
- Trinity, 13, 32, 135.
- Upasatha, Buddhist sabbaths, 146.

Buddhism—cont.—

- Under later Pālas becomes simply nominal in Bengal, the substance becoming identified with Śaivism, 170, 172, 174.
- Vihāras, Buddhist monasteries, cease to be built under Nārāyaṇapāla, who builds temples to Shiva instead, 169.
- Buddhism, Chinese and Japanese:—
- A single expression of a comprehensive cult, xv.
- Akin to Tantric and Purāṇic Hinduism in India, xi.
- Buddhists, Hinduized, early "untouchables," 201.
- Burmese modern Buddhist festivities resemble Gambhīra, 6.

C.

- Cane of Heaven, 38.
- Canon, Buddhist:—
- Assemblies at Rājagṛha, 141-2.
- Definition of the Tripiṭaka, or Three-fold Canon, 142.
- Schisms occurring at the assemblies, 142.
- Tantrism leads to disregard of the Canon, 150.
- Caste:—
- Ignored in the Gājan and Gambhīra, 133-4.
- Never a disintegrating factor, x.
- Not recognized by Āṇḍa Chāṇḍ, 34 (note).
- Originated in efforts at social reconstruction in Sena times, 211.
- Probably a recent institution, x.
- Thirty-six castes, 195.
- Ceremony and Ritual:—
- Ablution of Buddha, 119, 155, 237.
- Dharma, 197.
- Adhivāsa, preliminary ceremonies of an important festival, 196, 231, 236, 237.
- Agni-jhāp (jump into fire), 58.
- Anointing the image, 125.
- Ashes, daubing with, 9, 45, 230.
- Avabhṛitha Bath, 116, 130.
- Bada Tāmāś processions, 53.
- Burning of resin or incense, 53, 56, 58, 64, 86, 87, 197, 235, 241.
- Confession of sins, 136, 156 (note), 158.
- Crossing the Vaitaraṇī, 99, 196, 197.
- Dehāra-bhāṅga, 99, 226-9.

Ceremony and Ritual—*cont.*—

- Dharmapada, 100, 136, 195.
 Dharmapālīkā, 98, 100, 120, 136, 195.
 Dharma-worship, list of ceremonies from *Śaṅkya Purāṇa*, 196-7.
 — order of, 98.
 Dhenki Chumāna, or Reception of Nārada on his Dhenki, 59-60, 60-1.
 Dvārayāga and Parivāravali, 241.
 Four Gates, 30-1.
 Gājan worship, order of, 74-5.
 Gāndhī-kāśā, true worship, 133, 240-1.
 Gambhīrā worship, order of, 51.
 Ghata-sthāpana, installation of the Ghata, 51-2.
 Griha-darśana, looking inside a house to protect it from evil influences, 97.
 Hindolana, singing Hindola, 97.
 Jāgaran, passing sleepless nights, 13, 76, 79, 90, 117, 124, 126, 238-9.
 Kunda-śevā, worshipping a pit of sacrificial fire, 97.
 Marriage of Ādyā, 99, 230-1.
 Mādhana nācha, dance of Kālī, 55-6.
 Matted hair, wearing, 9, 132.
 Pashchima Udaya, 99.
 Phallus of Shiva, the making, 235-6.
 — — the worship, 236-7, 238.
 Phula-bhāṅgā, breaking of flowers, 54-5.
 Phulkheḷā, flower-play (fire ceremony), 155.
 Rākhi Vandhana, thread-tying, 133, 241 (note).
 Rāma tarpana, 99.
 Sāmsolē Chhāḍā, loosing the sacred fish, 58.
 Singing, 26-7, 44, 48, 49, 127.
 Sprinkling with holy water, 123.
 Sūi-āchāra, traditional ceremonies at marriages, 231.
 Wine-drinking, 9, 11, 255.
 Ceylon:—
 Dharma highly revered in, 6.
 Vana Pāṭha and Paritta, festivities similar to Gambhīrā, 6.
 Chaitra festivities of Orissa, a local edition of the Bengal Gambhīrā, 5.
 Chāmunda (Chandi):—
 A Hindu Tantric goddess worshipped by Buddhists, 188.
 Description of, 188.
 Mask-dance of, based on *Purāṇas*, 245, 248.
 — — paraphernalia of, 111.

Chāmunda (Chandi)—*cont.*—

- Mentioned in *Mārkaṇḍeya Chandi* as a wife of Shiva, 254.
 Protector of Buddha's religion, 173.
 Tanti-rituals of described in *Malati-Madhana*, 187.
 Chandi (Chandikā, Ādyā, Chāmunda, Durgā, Gaṇḍī):—
 Divine energy in full splendour, 39, 68.
 Flourished as Prachandā in Chandi-pura, 206.
 Installed as Ādyā and then as Chandikā in Gambhīrā temple, 69.
 Mentioned in *Śaṅkya Purāṇa*, 258.
 Narasimhi, a form of, 112.
 Represented as the daughter of a Hādī (lowest class of Hindu), 31.
 Temple of, attached to every Hindu house under Mohammedan rule, 232.
 Worshipped as Vajra Tārā by Mahāyānists, 184.
 Charity or alms-giving:—
 Asoka's feast of stonement and charity, 156 (note).
 Feeding of worshippers, 56, 155, 157.
 Gifts of money and pearl at Gambhīrā and Gājan, 159.
 Harna Vardhana's splendid gifts to men of religion and the poor, 157-8.
 Children:—
 Dance before the temple, 4, 247.
 Vows and observances of, Hinduized under Pāla kings, 202.
 Christmas Day, Hindu equivalent of, 134.
 Churning of the Ocean by the Gods, 29.
 Civilization, Hindu:—
 Misunderstood by superficial observers, 114.
 Three epochs of, 215.
 Colour no criterion of racial status, 2.
 Comedy of errors in Shaiva legend, 248-51.
 Commerce greatly developed under the Pālas and Cholas, 162.
 Concentration, of the Lord of Gods, 28.
 Confession:—
 An essential to absolution in Gambhīrā ritual, 20.
 Failing confession, exposure, 20.
 Festival for stonement founded by Asoka, 156 (note).

Confession—*cont.*—

- Gambhīrā practice of confession before Shiva probably relic of Asoka's festival, 158.
- Hinayāna Buddhists held that confession absolved from four kinds of sin, 136.
- Practised bi-monthly by Bhiksus or Buddhist ascetics, 156 (note).
- Co-operation, practically inculcated by the Gambhīrā, 20.
- Co-operative worship, 131.
- Corpse, dances and ritual, 81, 90, 187, 188.
- Cosmogony, Hindu, described in rustic hymns, 26, 27, 32.
- Cotton, sown by Shiva, and spun by his wife, 38.
- Cow and its products:—
- Ashes of dried cow-dung used in adornment of Shiva, 45.
 - — — in preparation for the Vāpafōda, 105, 106.
 - Cow-dung as fuel, 105.
 - used to besmear the courtyard of the temple, 88.
 - Pancha-gavya, mixture of milk, curds, ghee and the two excretions of the cow, used in ritual purification, 236.
 - Sacred cow (Kapilā), which supports the world, 28-9.
 - Urine of cow used in purification, 196, 197.
- Cows, giving away of, 240.
- Cowries (conch-shells), smallest currency, 190.
- Crab, fetcher of earth for the Creation, 27, 32.
- Creation:—
- Creator afraid to create the world, 95.
 - creates himself, 40, 197, 222.
 - Earth, created from the 8th of the body, 40 (note), 198.
 - Effected by meditation, 40.
 - Story as told in Gambhīrā hymns, 27, 32, 39.
 - Water, the saliva of Dharma, 40.
- Culture, Hindu:—
- Community of thought between classes and masses, 252.
 - Differently developed in North and South, 216-7.
 - Gambhīrā effectively raises standard of in Bengal, 16.
 - Making of contributed to by masses no less than classes, x.

D.

Dances and dancing:—

- Ālīdha, shooting posture, 245.
- Chārti dance, 245.
- Children, 3, 247.
- Effect of Nīlānjana's dance on Rīsabha Iḍeva, 123, 137.
- False goddesses' dance to Shiva, 122, 250.
- Gambhīrā mask-dances founded on King Vāpa's, 245.
- Mask-dancing founded on classic descriptions, 245.
- Modern dancing differs but slightly from traditional, 245.
- Pramukha, 245.
- Prāyanika dance, 245.
- Shaking the head, 122, 245.
- Shālī and Sībāna Panchaka, 245.
- Shiva as patron god of dancing, 123.
- Vāpa's dancing before Shiva, 106-7, 122, 244-7.
- Vividhākāra, cutting many figures, 245.
- Dancing-hall (pandal): its decoration and lighting, 82-5.
- Dates, Times and Seasons:—
- Ālīdha (June-July):—

 - Sowing of Shiva, 38.
 - Astrologically auspicious date to be selected for making the phallus of Shiva, 237.

- Chaitra (March-April):—

 - Ādī Jina, ninth day of dark half, 117, 140.
 - Chadaka-post ceremony, last day of month, 51, 81.
 - Gājan festival, last six days, 75.
 - Gambhīrā festival, last five days, 51, 88.
 - Marriage of Shiva, about end of month, 87.
 - Pārshwanātha's conception, fourth day of dark half, 139.
 - Illumination, forenoon of fourth day of dark half, when moon had entered Viśākhā, 139.
 - Sāhiyātrā, day of full moon, 91.
 - Shiva's festival, day of full moon, 243.
 - Swinging ceremony, day of full moon, 242.
 - Third day of bright half, auspicious for asking boons from Grant, 243.
 - Confession, on full-moon and new moon days, 156 (note).

Dates, Times and Seasons—*cont.*—

Jyāishtha (May-June):—

Anuruddha released by Kālī at dead of night on fourteenth day of black half of month, 244.

Jinendra's birthday month, 138.

Nandishwara festival of the Jains, from eighth day of light half of Āśāḍha, Kārtika (Oct.-Nov.) and Phālgoon (Feb.-March), to the full moon day, 140 (note).

Phālgoon (Feb.-March):—

Phālgoon festivities when moon is in its twelfth mansion, 242.

Shivarātri, fourteenth day of dark half, 3.

Praharas, divisions of day and night, 238, 239.

Rewards attached to worship of Shiva in Chaitra and Vaiśākha, 242.

Sun's passage from Libra to Scorpio or from Aries to Taurus, Buddhist ceremonies on, 172.

Vaiśākha (April-May):—

Buddha's birthday, full-moon day, 119, 135, 247.

Dharma's Gājan, on third day of light half; closes on day of full moon, 96.

Vijayā-dashamī day, fourth day of the Durgā-pūjā (generally held in October)—day for the worship of masks, 110.

Decorative Arts:—

Encouraged by the Gambhīrā, 17-8.

Higher standard promoted by emulation, 18-9.

Image-making must be orthodox, yet have elements of novelty and diversity, 18.

Imitation fruits and flowers a speciality of old Malda, 18.

Painting, competition and growth in beauty, 18.

Paper-cutting, an old and exquisite art, 18-9.

Mural decoration with rice-paste (ālipana), an art excelled in by females, 19.

Weaving of fine cloth, 19.

Deluge, universal, 32.

Dharma (Brahmā, or Ādi Buddha), the Creator:—

Approachable through meditation only, 95, 101.

As Void, the Primeval God or First Cause, 27, 32, 95, 101.

Dharma (Brahmā, or Ādi Buddha), the Creator—*cont.*—

Attribute of Whiteness, as Dharma Niranjana, 33, 39, 294.

Building of his temple, 225-6.

Counselled by Ulluka, his conveyance, 41, 43 (note).

Creates himself, 40, 197.

— his seat, the lotus, 41.

— Nature, 222.

— the earth, 27, 32, 40 (note).

— the elephant, tortoise and serpent, to bear up the earth, 42-3.

Creation story of the *Shanya Purāna*, 197-9, 221-2.

Dehārā-bhāṅgā song, in which Dharma is Islamized, 226-9.

Dharma Adhikārī, Lord of Dharma, 48.

— Niranjana in West Bengal a compound name for one and the same god; but in *Dharma-gītā* Niranjana appears as the son of Dharma, 95.

Disguises himself as a Mohammedan and joins other gods in breaking down and plundering the temple, 225.

Disturbed by Kāmādeva, 199.

Divides honours of Gājan with Shiva, 5.

Endows Shiva with three eyes, 199.

Entertained by dancing and singing of the gods, 223-4.

Eternal, 95.

Fear of his task of creation, 95.

Female form of, in Buddhist Trinity, 247, 293.

First or front position in Hindu Trinity, 28, 32, 194.

Footprints and sandals of, 195.

Formless, represented by image of tortoise, 100.

Formlessness of, dwelt upon in meditation, salutations and hymns, 100-2.

Gives birth to Ādyā, 95-6, 196, 222.

Highly revered in Ceylon, 6.

Illusive power of, 94, 101.

Om, his mystic syllable, 194.

Saluted by Shiva, 222.

Seed of, drunk by Ādyā in mistake for poison, 199, 222.

Shiva as his guest at the Gājan, 222.

Springs out of the Void, 197-8.

Worship of, not offered openly under Mohammedan rule, 219.

Worshipped by day, Shiva by night, 239 (note).

— with song, music and dance, 124-5.

Dhenki, popular reverence for, 61.
Dhenki-mangala and Dhenki Chumans, 59-61.
Dining as a socio-religious function, 5, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133.
Dinner-party of the gods, 5, 132.
Divination ceremonies:—
Mediumship, 89, 90.
Paddy cultivation, 57.
Pat-bhāṅgā, 86.
Phul-kādhān, 78.
Doors of the temple:—
Gājan: opening ceremony, 44.
— salutation service before, 49.
Gambhīrā—four in number, 70.
Dramatic work showing Tantric influence:—
Māliki-Mādhava (eighth century), in which the hero seeks aid of Tantric magic in his love-making, 187-8.
Nāgānanda (seventh century), in which Shiva and Durgā restore the dead to life, 186.
Drinking, social, 129.
Drums, Drumsticks:—
Damaru, small hour-glass-shaped drum favoured by Shiva, 9, 39, 45, 125, 223.
Dhāka, long drum, made of mango-wood and cowhide leather, 37, 52, 53, 126.
Dhāka-sticks, made of karavi-wood, 36.
Mridangas, small drums, 9.
Drunkenness as a condition of worship, 9.
Durgā (Chandi, Ādyā):—
A name of fate in the *Māndūkya Upaniṣad*, 253.
As wife of Shiva in post-Vedic literature has definite form and rules the gods, 254.
Creative energy of God, and wife of Shiva, 84, 134, 198, 254.
Identified with Ādyā by Rāmāī, 198, 200, 220, 222.
— Motherland by Bankimchandra Chatterji, 261-2.
Illusive powers of, 234.
Invocation to at marriage ceremony, 230.
Joins Shiva in restoring to life the Buddhist Jīmatavāhana, 189.
Mentioned in Jālna *Arīṣanemi Purāṇa*, 257.
Mentioned in Mahāyānic Buddhist works, 258.

Durgā (Chandi, Ādyā)—cont.—
Most popular modern goddess of Hindu Bengal, 261.
Mother of Kāmādeva and sends him after Dharma, 198-9.
Procession of at ablution ceremony, 220-1.
Rides a lion and has ten hands, 30.
Tārā, her Tantric Buddhist shadow, 171.
Worship of, promoted by Hindu princes under the Mohammedans, 232.
Dusting the temple with the hair, 48-9.

E

Eclecticism, Religious:—
Culminated in the reign of Harṣa Vardhana, 152-3.
Helped forward under Islamite pressure, 218.
Hsien Tsiang's testimony to in connection with Harṣa's religious festivals, 154-5, 159.
Mahipāla endows Brāhmanas to propitiate Bodḍha, 172.
Nārāyaṇapāla, a staunch Buddhist, endows Śaivism, 167-8.
— builds temples to Shiva, but provides that they shall be free also to Buddhists, 169.
Rāmāī Pandit introduces Hindu along with Buddhist deities and adapts Hindu forms, 164.
Pala kings' eclecticism paved the way for absorption of Buddhism by Śaivism, 202.

Egypt:—
Egyptian gods similar to Indian, 7.
Festivities held similar to Gambhīrā, 7.
Elephant:—
Created by Dharma to bear up the earth, 42.
Herds of, said to have saluted Bodḍha, 42 (note).
Worshipped by Buddhist Tantrists, 42 (note).
Endowment of land for the service of Shiva, 167-8.
Energy (Shakti) embodied in the gods and goddesses, 255-9.

F

False Mothers, legend of the, 122, 248-52.

Fasting:—

- Absolute abstinence, 80.
- Avoidance of fish and meat, 75.
- Eating boiled rice and ghee only, 76, 77.
- fruit only, 76, 77.

Feasting, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 56, 132-3, 155, 157, 159.

Festivals (and see *Gājan*, *Gambhīra*, *Sāhiyātrā*):—

Ādi Jina Rīṣabha (Jaina), 117.

Babylon, 7.

Bacchic (Greece), 6-7.

Car (Hindu), 147.

Car, or Chariot (Buddhist), 13, 119, 124, 147, 243.

Chaitrotsava (Buddhist), 13, 119, 124, 154-6.

Dual-yātrā (Buddhist), 156 (note).

Fire (Vedic), 11-2.

— of *Nedāpōdā*, *Medhāpōdā* and *Āgchi* (Buddhist), 156 (note).

Floral (Shaivist), 242-3.

Flowery Car (Shaivist), 117.

— Temple (Shaivist), 117, 242, 243.

Harvest (Vedic), 10-11.

Id (Mohammedan), 7.

Madana, God of Love, 242.

Madanotsava (Cupid's), 187.

Māra-Vināshaka (Ceylon, Buddhist), 147.

Nandishwara (Jaina) 140 (note).

Osiris (Egypt), 7.

Paritā (Ceylon), 6.

Parinirvāna (Buddhist), 140, 147, 152.

Quinquennial (Buddhist), 13-14, 156-9.

Shākyasimha's birthday (Buddhist), 118-9, 123, 135, 152.

Shashāmkā's (Shaivist-Saura), 159.

Shiva's in Phalgun (Shaivist), 117.

Skandagovind- (Shaivist), 117.

Spring (Jaina), 117, 118, 140, 152.

Swinging (Shaivist), 117, 242.

Tīrthamkaras, birth and emancipation of (Jaina), 117, 138.

Vāṇa Pāṭha (Ceylon), 6.

Vasanta, Spring God, 242.

Filth, world created from, 40 (note).

Fire, sacred, in worship, 237, 238.

Fire seats, commemorating the burning of a pavilion, 155-6.

Fire-gods and their wives, the real origin of idolatry, 12.

Fire Worship:—

Fire worshipped under various forms and names, 11, 12, 353.

Kunda-seva ceremonies of Dharma's *Gājan*, 97.

Fire Worship—cont.—

Shiva the God of Fire in Vedic times, 8.

Vigrahpālā's coins suggestive of fire-worship, 167.

Worship conducted with large-scale ceremony and pomp, 11.

First Cause:—

Dharma as, 27.

— prays to, 63 (note).

Folk:—

Base Shiva-worship on *Pardnas* as well as on modern treatises, 251.

Dominated matters of faith in Pāla days, 169.

Elected Gopāla, 165.

King's anxiety to please, 166.

Invented deities for help in life's battle, 253, 258.

Folk-Element in Hindu Culture, The:—

Assistance acknowledged, viii, xiii.

Based on first-hand study, vii, viii.

Bibliography, xii-xiii.

Complementary to *Positive Background*, vii.

Diacritical marks, xiii.

Limited to study of Shaiva-cum-Shāktaiism relations with Buddhism in Bengali-speaking Eastern India, viii.

Observations suggested by the Author's studies, x-xi.

Political details and dates purposely restricted, xi.

Result of preliminary spadework in data of Hindu sociology, x.

Rules observed in quotation and reference, xi.

Side-lights for students, xv.

Sources of information, xii, xiii, xiv.

Studies of Mr. Haridas Pālit, viii.

Vaiṣṇava cult not included in scope, viii.

Folk-love, Hindu, as an interpretation of transcendental conceptions to the people, x, xi.

Folk-lore:—

Bengal, viii.

Initiation among the folk a necessary qualification, ix.

Pālit, Mr. Haridas, special studies of, viii, ix, x.

Folk-religion:—

Parent of cult of World-Forces and its developments, xvi.

Still active in creation, adaptation and re-interpretation, xvi.

G.

Gājan Ceremonies :—

1st Day : Sannyāsi-dhārā, or Selection :—

Marking volunteer votaries with sandal-paste, or by shaving, 75.
Musical procession and bathing, 75.
Supper avoiding meat and fish, 75.

2nd Day : Nijhād-kāmān, or Shaving :—

Essential to acceptance, 76.
Performed on latest date for acceptance of sannyāsis, 76.
Rites obligatory on sannyāsis, 76.

3rd Day : Haviyā :—

Brāhmaṇa (priest) begins his office, 76.

Gājane Brāhmaṇa initiates Gājane sannyāsis, 76-7.

— Shiva, substitute for permanent idol, 76 (note).

Garlands of thread balls (uttariya), 76-7.

Ghata-sthāpana, installation of Shiva's water-jar, 76.

Worship and singing of hymns, 77.

4th Day : Mahā-haviyā :—

Day of full ceremonial worship, 77.

Divination by the Phul-kādhān ceremony, 77, 78.

Jāgaran, passing of sleepless nights (i.e. with festivities and merry-making), 76, 79, 238-9.

Lighting of Nīla's temple, 80.

Procession round the district, 78.

Verse-making competitions, 79.

Worship of Shiva's crocodile, 79-80.

5th Day : Fasts and Nīla-pūjā :—

Absolute fast, 80.

Assistance of painters in making-up for processions and dances, 80.

Fancy-dress processions, 80.

Hindus join with Mohammedans, 80.

Mask-dances like those of Gambhīra of Malda, 80.

Nīlāvatī-pūjā, lighting Shiva's temple with lamps burning ghee, a ceremony opening heaven's gates to women, 87.

Gājan Ceremonies—cont.—

5th Day : Fasts and Nīla-pūjā—cont.—

Pāt-bhāṅgā, scramble for fruit, 86.

Songs and hymns to Shiva, 81-5.

Cultivation song, 82-4.

Pārvatī's bracelets song, 84-5.

Tortures, or physical austerities, as in Gambhīra, 81, 85-7.

Basti-jhāmp, jumping on knives or spikes, 85.

Dhunā Pōdhā, inhalation of resin-smoke, either seated or hanging head-downward (cf. agni-jhāmp, pp. 58-9), 86-7.

Kāntā-jhāmp, jumping on thorns, 86.

6th Day : Chadaka-pūjā :—

Day of exciting ceremonies, such as Vānafoḍā, now forbidden, 87, 103-6, 108.

Marriage of Shiva celebrated in some places, 87, 99, 200-1, 229-31.

Origin of Vānafoḍā—legend of Vāna, 106-7, 244-7.

Gājan of Dharma :—

A form of worship introduced by Rāmāi Pandit, 195.

Ādi Buddha's worship called Dharma's Gājan, 225.

Annual and occasional forms, 96.

Based on codes more ancient than Rāmāi's, 93.

Building of Dharma's temple to song and music, 225.

Building song, 226.

Caste differences ignored by Dharma, 195.

Ceremonies cover twelve days, 96.

Dehārā-bhāṅgā (pulling down the altar), delightful and historically interesting ceremony, 99.

Dihārā-bhāṅgā, song of Islamized Buddhism, 224, 226-9.

Dharma, being formless, represented by the image of a tortoise, 200.

Dharma Niranjana, presiding deity, the same as Ādi (Primitive) Buddha, 93-4, 194.

Dharma's awakening, 96, 99.

Dharmapāduka, sandals of Dharma, modern form of Dharmapada, footprints of Dharma, 98, 200, 195.

Dharma-mangala gives details of worship, 200.

Gājan of Dharma—*cont.*—

Difficulties under Islam:—

Brāhmaṇa caste-prejudice endangers and handicaps the worship, 219, 221.

Hindu landlords discourage the worship for fear of the Brāhmaṇas, 219.

Moslem hatred of idolatry met by Islamizing the worship and vilifying Hindu gods, 219.

Goddess *Ādyā* worshipped with Dharma, 95.

Graka-bharana, daily programme of Rāmāi, 97.

Hdāśida Purāṇa, original treatise on Dharma-worship, 225.

— — system superseded by Rāmāi's, 98.

Hinduization of the festival:—

Adaptation of Hindu gods and forms, 194-5, 220.

Assisted by advent of Islam, 218.

Dharma and *Ādyā* converted into Shiva and Durgā, 200, 220.

Shiva, introduced as spectator or guest, ultimately becomes presiding deity, 200, 222, 223-4, 230-1.

Lāseni ritual used with Rāmāi's hymns and mantras, 97-8.

Mantras or incantations of *Skanya Purāṇa* not essential details, but sung after every item of worship, 196.

Marriage of *Ādyā*, a beautiful festivity and indispensable to the Gājan, 87, 99, 200-1, 229-31.

Order of worship and daily ceremonies, 98.

Other gods associated with Dharma, 100.

Peculiar festivity of the Amani Chiyāns, 99.

Piercings with needles, 99, 103-6.

Rāmāi Pandit as missionary of Dharma's Gājan, 195.

Skanya Purāṇa contents—legend and ritual, 196-7.

— — creation story represented in Gājan, 200.

Temporary dehārās under Islam, 226.

Various names of Dharma, 100.

Worship formulae:—

Hymns, 101-2.

Meditation, 100-1.

Salutation, 101.

Gājan, or Gambhīrā, of West Bengal (Rādhā):—

A local name for the Gambhīrā festival, 61.

Caste rules ignored, 133-4.

Crossing the *Vaitaraṇī*, in Dharma's Gājan, similar to the *Sāntole Chhāddā* of the Gambhīrā in Māldā, 59.

Cultivation of paddy by Shiva enacted both in Dharma's and in Shiva's Gājan, 57 (note).

Dharma Niranjana a guest at Shiva's Gājan, 231.

Dhenki-mangala, advent of the sage Nārada on a dhenki, or husking pedal, 59-60.

— — similar to the Dhenki Chumāna of the Māldā Gambhīrā, 59-60.

Divided into Dharma's Gājan and Shiva's Gājan, 5.

Fire, sacred, 237.

Managed by Mandala in some places, 73-4.

Mohammedan hatred of idolatry met by turning the Hindu god into a Moslem saint, 220.

Mula-sannyāsi, chief votary, assists Mandala, 74, 77.

Name comes from Sanskrit *garjana*, uproar, 73.

— means literally "Festivities held in honour of Shiva," 73.

Organization, 74.

Phallus of Shiva, worship of, 120, 155 (note), 235-7, 238.

Phulkhelā and other fire diversions, commemorating the burning of the pavilion at Kanauj, 155-6.

Procession of the Nīla-pujā similar to the Gambhīrā procession of the Bādā Tāmāśā, 53.

Rāmāi's Gājan probably imitates Buddhist festivities seen by Hsuen Tsang, 223.

Skanya Purāṇa creation story represented, 200.

Specimens of valuation songs, 44-50.

Temple of Shiva in every village, 73.

Vāṇafodā or some form of blood spilling necessary, 107, 247.

Gambhīrā, *Ādyā*'s:—

A Bengalee socio-religious festival, 2

3, 5.

Called after the place where held 71-2.

Gambhīrā, Ādyā's—*cont.*—

Called Gambhīrā in North, Gājan in West, Nīla in East Bengal, 2, 5, 61-2.

— Gambhīrā probably everywhere originally, 62.

— Bahyātrā in Orissa and Midnapore, 61-2.

Caste rules ignored, 133-4.

Confession of sins before Shiva probably relic of Asoka's atonement festival, 156 (note), 158.

Connected with the worship of Shiva, 4, 71-2.

Connoted all the Gājan festivities of West Bengal, 5.

Devotees of Āula Chānd prominent, 33-5.

Enjoyed by Shiva, his family and other gods, 4.

Enriches language and literature, 16.

Extends all over Bengal and Orissa and even to Assam, Burma and Bhutan; extended probably to Tibet, 5-6.

Founded on the Sanskrit *Pardās* as well as on vernacular treatises, 251.

Geographical distribution—generally East of the Ganges as Gambhīrā, and elsewhere under other names, 61-2.

Germs of the worship to be found in Buddhist festivities held in honour of both Hindu and Buddhist deities, 147, 155, 158-9.

Goldsmiths of old Gauda, migrating to Kuchmān in Burdwan, took with them the Gambhīrā, 62.

Inspires unlettered poets, 17.

Known personally to the author for twenty years, xiii.

Lotus offerings in, 41 (note).

Maker of poets, 15.

Malda Gambhīrā best preserves original character, 62.

Masking or disguise as gods favoured by royalty, 13.

— — legendary origin of, 122, 148-51.

— — spread of, 14.

Milton's *Comas* dances suggestive of Gambhīrā, 6-7 (note).

Organizers pay great attention to their secular interests, 3.

Pāli, Mr. Haridās, describes his first impressions of, ix.

Gambhīrā, Ādyā's—*cont.*—

Poulkheld and other fire diversions commemorating the burning of the pavilion at Kanauj, 155-6.

Potent factor of mass-education, 14.

Practised to please the god and to obtain his favours of health and long life, 4, 53.

Prohibition of conduct disrespectful to the gods, 5, 56-7.

Promotes national spirit, 16.

Raises tone of thought and standard of culture, 16.

Seventh century celebrations described by Chinese visitors, 13-14.

Shaiva influence predominant, but Tantric Buddhism the backbone, 169.

Similar festivities formerly held in Ceylon, Greece, Babylon, Egypt, etc., 6-7.

Specimens of the salutation songs, 27-44.

Spread of, from Asia to Europe and Africa, 6.

Study of, reveals how Shaivism has assimilated both Buddhism and Jainism, 25.

— shows the importance of vernacular literature in historical research, 25.

Tantric influence amply traceable in the ceremonies, 188.

Gambhīrā ceremonies:—

1st Day: Ghata Bhārā:—

Filling the jar with water, a symbol of the in-filling power of the god to be worshipped, 51.

Generally held the day before the Chhota Tāmāsā, 51.

Ghata (jar, pitcher), emblem of the worshipped god, 51.

— filled after dusk, then installed, 52.

2nd Day: Chhota Tāmāsā (Lesser Festivities):—

No formal ceremonies, 52.

Worship of Hara-Pārvatī begins and voluntary Bhaktas take up their vows, 53.

3rd Day: Bada Tāmāsā (Greater Festivities):—

Begin with Hara-Pārvatī worship, 53.

Dancing procession of Bhaktas in fancy dress, 53.

Gambhīrā ceremonies—*cont.*—

3rd Day: Bāda Tāmilā (Greater Festivities)—*cont.*—

Darts inserted in the body and the outer ends set on fire, 53.

Dressing of Hanumān, 54.

— of Kālī, 55-6.

Māshāna dance of Kālī, 55-6.

Mask-play of Hanumān's burning of Ceylon, 53-4.

Minor mask-dances, 55.

Procession and ceremony of Phula-bhāṅgā, 54-5.

Songs criticising Shiva, 55.

— denouncing the wicked, 55.

Use of incense to appease Kālī, 56.

Wave-offerings and illumination of the temple, 55.

4th Day: Āhārā-pujā:—

Āhārā-pujā, or worship of a bamboo post hung with mango, banana blossoms, etc., 5, 51, 56.

Ceremony of homa, 56.

Dhenki-chumāna, advent of the sage Nārada on a dhenki, or husking pedal, 59-60.

— described in *Śhunya Purāṇa*, 60.

— similar to the Dhenki-mangala ceremony of Dharma's Gājan, 59.

Feeding of Brāhmaṇas and virgins, 56.

Inhalation of smoke of burning resin while hanging head downward (Agni-jhāmp), 58-9.

Sacredness of the ground after Āhārā ceremony, 56-7.

Sāmsolē Chhāddā, release of the Sāmsolē fish, 58.

— similar to the Gājan ceremony of crossing the Vaitaraṇī, 59.

Shiva's cultivation of paddy (rice) enacted and the prospect of the year's crop divined, 57.

Volvāhi, special improvised songs to appropriate music, 57-8.

5th Day: Chādaka-pujā (swinging or whirling):—

Held formerly on last day of the Gambhīrā or Gājan, 51, 87.

Now illegal, 87, 108.

Origin of—legend of Vāna, 106-7, 244-7.

Gambhīrā of the rustics in Varendra, or Northern Bengal:—

Absolute absence of luxury, 88.

Chief sannyāsi, or Guṇī, acts as priest, 88.

Gambhīrā-houses often dilapidated, 88.

Ghost worship prevails, and at the Gambhīrā outshines that of Shiva, 89.

Ghosts and spirits supposed to attend the jagarāṇā (night celebrations), 89.

Māshān, or Corpse Dance:—

Awakening the corpse, 90.

Bringing it into the temple, 90.

Mediumship, or possession by ghost or god, 89-90.

Possession by the local deity, 90-1.

Shiva's cultivation ceremony, 90.

Solo mask-dancing, 90.

Gambhīrā organisation:—

Bhāṅgan, the budget and subscription-list of the Gambhīrā, 68.

Control of each Gambhīrā by a Mandala (headman of village), 66.

Endowments or grants of land to old Gambhīrās by zamindars, 66-7.

— which formerly paid for the worship, now insufficient, 67.

Fines from social culprits and legacies from those dying without heirs help to finance the Gambhīrā, 67.

General Assembly (Chhatris) of Gambhīrās, 66.

Modern Gambhīrās not often endowed, 67.

New Gambhīrās due to splits in Mandala families, 67-8.

— of an amateur nature called Sakher, or pleasure Gambhīrās, 68.

Vaithaka, or general meeting and court of the Gambhīrā, 66, 68.

Gambhīrā Temple:—

Appointments of in the past:—

Adorned by paper lotuses for practical reasons, 63-4.

Lighted by earthen cups burning mustard oil, 64.

Open iron lamps (chomackas) suspended or on stands, 64-5.

Pictures drawn on cloths, 65.

Sackcloth couch for the Mandala and other geniry, 64.

Seats not provided for the public, 63, 64.

Gambhīrā Temple—*cont.*—

Appointments of in the past—*cont.*—

Shade-canopies gradually introduced, 64.

Tobacco and pipes provided, 64.

Torches of oil-drenched rags or bundles of dried jute plants, 64.

Varind district still preserves primitive conditions, 65.

Appointments of in the present:—

Luxurious and artistic—gaslight, elaborate paintings, chairs, benches and beds, sprays of rose-water, coloured torches, etc.—all adding enormously to the cost of decoration, 65.

General details:—

In Orissa Shiva's image installed in a very dark inner apartment, or holy of holies, called the Ghora-Gambhīrā, 71.

Temple contains four doors, 70.

Name:—

Gambhīra, a name of Shiva, 72.

— in mediæval times meant a house of meditation or worship, 68-9, 70, 71.

— name of the lotus, used in decoration, 70.

Hence, temple probably called Gambhīrā after Gambhīra (Shiva) who was worshipped in it; and the festivities called Gambhīrā after the place in which they were held and which was adorned with Gambhīrā flowers, 72.

Transition:—

Gambhīrā-house formerly used for worship of Buddha or Dharma, 69.

Introduction of Ādyā prepared the way for Shiva, 69.

Shiva worship supplanted that of Buddha and the Gambhīrā became the temple of Shiva, 69-70.

Ganapati, Lord of Ghosts and Goblins, a name of Ganesha, 97.

Gangā:—

Presiding deity of the Ganges and wife of Shiva, 30.

Spins cotton handed her by Shiva, 38.

Worn by Shiva on his head, 45, 46, 71, 178.

Ganesha (God of Success):—

Disguise as Gāxi, 224.

First deity to be honoured in every Tantric worship, 236, 241 (note).

Rides a mouse, 29.

Worshipped in connexion with the worship of other gods, 97, 220.

Ganges:—

Ablution in, of Buddha, 119, 155.

Eastern side, the locality of Gambhīrā festivities, 61-2.

Mahādeva's city on its banks, 210.

Mahipālā bathes in, 172.

Marmelos leaf drenched in its water placed on Shiva's head, 78.

Water of, drunk by votaries, 77.

— offered to Maṣhān Kālī, 90.

— to Shiva, 34.

— sprinkled on flowers, 86.

— used in purification, 36.

Gates, the four, opening of, 30-1.

Garuda (King of Birds):—

Conveyance of Viṣṇu, 146.

Holds the Jhātī and Jhagadā, 108.

Pillar of, set up by Gurava Maḥara, 167.

Gauda:—

Ancient capital of Bengal, 62.

Buddhist in eighth century, 163.

Conquered by Yaśovarman, 163.

Effort by Shura kings to revive Vedism, 163-4.

Eloquently described by Dhoyī, 210.

Failure of Shura dynasty brings in the Pālas, 164-5.

Gradual displacement of Buddhism by Śaivism under the Pālas, 165-9.

Moral decadence on eve of Moslem conquest, 212-3.

Rāmdī Pandit a resident, 119.

Shashāmka, celebrated both Śaiva and Saura festivals, 159.

— conquered by Harṣa Vardhana, 149.

Tantrism (Buddhist and Śaivist) unopposed in early eleventh century, 189.

— supreme under Lakṣmana Sena in twelfth century, 208.

Tīrā worship especially in vogue under the Senas, 205-6.

Varman dynasty encourages Śaivism, 203.

Gaurī (Ādyā, Chāndikā):—

Bestower of blessings, 243.

Fitted with bracelets by Shiva, 84.

Joint image of with Shiva, 69, 210, 231.

Gauri (Ādyā, Chandikā)—*cont.*
 One of the Sixteen Mothers, 122, 124.
 Sent for by Shiva and impersonated by Chitrakāhā, 148-9.
 Shiva worshipped as the "much beloved husband of Gauri," 71.
 Tārā and Āryā Tārā images similar to Gaurī's, 126.
 Ghata (water-pitcher or jar), symbol of the in-filling power of a god, 32, 49, 51, 69, 197.
 Ghost-worship in Northern Bengal, 89-91.
 Gibbons, as steeds of the gods, 30.
 Gifts, to priests, guests and others:—
 Beds, etc., 168, 169.
 Cloth, 55.
 Clothing, 131, 157, 158.
 Cows, 240.
 Drink, 158.
 Flowers, 88, 158.
 — of gold, 156.
 Food, 50, 131, 158, 165, 168.
 — and drink, 169.
 Jewels, 131.
 Maintenance, 168.
 Money, 117, 131, 158, 159, 240.
 Ornaments, 157.
 Pearls, 158, 159.
 Perfumes, 158.
 Rice, 61, 132-3, 240 (note), 243.
 God non-existent in the beginning, according to Rāmāi Pandit, 197.
 Gods and Goddesses of India:—
 Agnosticism of the Hindus leads to free invention and manipulation of gods, 260.
 All embodiments of *śakti* (energy) or *bhakti* (love), and invented as aids and exemplars in life and duty, 258-9.
 Augmented in number from age to age, 253, 259-60.
 Bhakti or devotional literature since fifteenth century has appealed more to the heart than to the head, 259.
 Book (*Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists*) recommended to students, xv.
 Buddhist and non-Buddhist of common origin and often difficult to distinguish, xv-xvi.
 Change in forms, attributes and significance, 254, 260.
 Deification of Motherland and its culture: Tagore's *Hymn to Mother India*, 260-1.

Gods and Goddesses of India—*cont.*—
 Goddesses rank higher than gods, 254.
 Gods of the *Rig Veda* and *Upanishads* represent natural elements and potencies, 233-4.
 — take more definite form and are more humanized in the *Purāṇas* and *Epics*, 254.
 Marriage and parentage among gods, 254-5.
 Preference to Shiva and his wives in *Purāṇas* and *Saṃhitās*, 254-6.
Purāṇas of the Buddhists, devoted chiefly to Buddha, 257.
 — of the Jains mention Hindu gods, 256-7.
 Tantric works of Hindus favour Shiva and elevate demi-gods to the rank of gods, 256.
 — — Mahāyāna Buddhists introduce the Bodhisattvas and include Hindu deities, especially forms of Shiva and Śakti, 257-8.
 To each generation its god-lore, 260.
 Tradition plus Vedantic monism: Durgā as Motherland: *Vande Mātaram* the summary and interpretation of India's god-lore, 261-2.
 Vedic literature neglected in favour of later Bengali treatises and songs, 259.
 Greece, illustrations from:—
 Bacchanalia, similar to Gambhīrā, 6-7.
 Bacchos, phallus of, 235 (note).
 Griha-darshana: looking inside a house to protect it from evil influences, 97.
 Gupta Emperors:—
 At first worshippers of Viṣṇu, 150 (note).
 Evolved into Tantric Śaiva-cum-Śāktism, 150.

H.

Hair, dusting the temple with, 48-9.
 Haliyudha:—
 A famous scholar, law-giver and religious minister to Lakṣmaṇa Sena, in twelfth century, 208.
 Complaints of decay of learning among Brāhmanas, 207.
 Writes *Muṛhya-sukta* to check the excesses yet preserve the spirit of Tantricism, 208.

Hanumān (Monkey-god):—

Brings stones for building Chandī's temple, 35.

Introduces mango into Ceylon, 37.

Mask-play of, 33-4, 111.

Mentioned in *Dharma Mangala*, 258.

— *Jaina Padma Purāṇa*, 257.

Occasionally a disguise of Ulluka, 40 (note).

Rāmdyana story of his leaping across the sea and burning Ceylon, 54, 111.

Harṣa Vardhana, Emperor (606-647 A.D.):—

A ruler who brought glory to his dynasty in war and peace, 149.

Conqueror of Gauda and nearly all Eastern India, 149-50.

Establishes Tantric Buddhism in Eastern India in place of Tantric Śaivism, 150-1.

Founder of inns, hotels, dispensaries, hospitals and places of worship, 153.

Himself of mixed religious ancestry, he professed several creeds in turn, but his real preference remains uncertain, and he allowed equal rights to his Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu subjects, 151-3.

Hiuen Tsaang, an honoured guest at court, found his host deeply attached to Buddhism, 153.

— describes two grand festivals, at which the religious eclecticism of king and people was fully displayed, 119, 124, 131, 154-8.

Performs the ablation of Buddha, 154-5.

Poet and patron of poets, 152 (note).

Reign of, marked climax of religious eclecticism in India, 153-3.

Harvest festivals in Vedic times, precursors of Gambhīra, 10.

Hell, in charge of Death, 254-5.

Heraldry (Kulinism):—

Art or science of social grades, attributed to Vallāla Sena, 204.

Ghatakas, professional match-makers, 205.

Mercantile castes degraded by Vallāla, 205.

Heraldry (Kulinism)—*cont.*—

Mercantile castes partially restored through Brāhmanas, 205.

Precedence problems much discussed by the people, 205.

Hermitages:—

Āshramas, Jaina hermitages or retreats, 140, 141.

Vadārīka, 255.

Heroes, fraternal reunions of, 130.

Hinayāna Buddhism:—

Early original or orthodox phase of Buddhism, 136, 142.

Held that emancipation (salvation) could be attained by the monks (Bhiksus) only, 142.

Inculcated worship of Buddha on his seat or foot-prints, 136.

Nicknamed Hinayāna (following a low and narrow way) by later sect of Mahāyāna, 142.

Practised confession as a condition of absolution, 136.

Similar practice in Gājan and Gambhīra probably prove Buddhist origin, 136.

Hindi:—

Important to future historians, 25-6.

Researches in, vii.

Hinduism:—

An ambiguous term, xv.

An eclectic and ever-expansive socio-religious system, 1.

Built up through assimilation during successive ages, 1.

Connected with Buddhism through the Mādhyamika sect which developed Tantrism akin to Hindu Tantrism, 175.

Established in Bengal through influence of the Brāhmanya ministers of the Pāla kings, 166, 169, 170, 171, 172.

Incorporated Buddhism under the later Pālas, 172.

Interchange of gods with Buddhism, 146, 164, 173.

Recognized Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, 220.

Tantric and Purāṇic, similar to the Buddhism of China and Japan, xi.

Hindus:—

A race well versed in material as well as spiritual affairs, 114.

Affairs of, must all have religious as well as secular merit, 3.

Agnosticism of, explains their imaginative polytheism, 260.

Hindus—cont.—

- Engineering skill, 114.
- Enjoyment of secular life, 115.
- Literature of arts, sciences and politics, 114.
- Not distinguished from Mohammedans by Aśoka Chānd, 34 (note).
- Scriptures, 28, 114.
- Social life of, has lessons for modern sociologists, 115.

History, Bengali:—

- Caste system originated in efforts at social reconstruction in Sena times, 211.
- Moslem conquest of North and West Bengal not fully accounted for, 213, 214.
- Novels, historical, xv.
- Oral folk-history collected by Mr. Pālī, viii.
- Twelfth century the highest watermark in science, art and literature, 212.
- Works of Prof. Rākhaldās Banerji, shedding light on international relations, xiv-xv.

History, Indian:—

- Details and dates of, purposely restricted in present work, xi.
- Disintegration periods not peculiar to Indian history, 160.
- Early History of India*, by Vincent Smith, relates how the Pālas and Senas made Bengal a great power in India, xiv.
- Hindu period does not end with Harsa Vardhana, but was carried on by the Pālas and Cholas, 161.
- Lessons for modern sociologists, 115.
- Pāla-Chola period of great importance in Indian development, 162.
- — really the last phase of Hindu Imperialism, 163, 215.
- Paucity of details of political changes obstruct study of the spread of Indian thought, 24.
- Popular influence to be studied, vii.
- Recent research proves the Pālas and Cholas worthy to rank with the Vardhana, Guptas and Mauryas, 160.
- Rehabilitation of the Pālas and Cholas extends drama of Indian history, 161.
- Vardhana-Pāla-Chola epoch synchronous with T'ang-Sung period in China, Angkor age in Middle Kingdom (7th-13th cent.) and the

Nārā-Kāmākura epoch in Japan, xi.

Hsien Tsaung:—

- A pious and learned Chinese Buddhist who visited India in 639 A.D., 153.
- Almost the only witness to Indian history of that time, 154.
- Assisted at the Chaitra festival founded by Harsa Vardhana, 154-5.
- Saw the great Quinquennial festival at Allahabad, 156-9.
- Travelled in North Bengal, 159.
- Witness to religious eclecticism, 156-9.
- Homa ceremony, 36, 97, 197, 237.
- Horse-dance of Oriśa, 92, 111.
- Horse sacrifices:—
- Ashwamedha, 8, 111, 116.
- Chaturmāśya, 12.
- Introduced through necessity for meat, 11.

Human Buddhas (Bodhisattvas).—

- Mahāyānic Buddhist saints, 176.
- Men who by their spiritual culture have attained godhead, 177.
- Resemblance of to neo-Hindu deities, 177 (note).

Hymns and sacred songs:—

- Differ in different villages, but underlying idea the same in all, 27.

Gāyatrī to Dharma, 194-5.

Hymn to Mother India, Tāgore's, 260-1.

Hymns by Bhaktas:—

- Awakening of Shiva, 45.
- Daily final orders, 50.
- Dhula-sāpata, 48-9.
- Doors, four, of the temple, 49-50.
- opening of, 44.
- Jala-sāpata, 49.
- Quarters, the ten, 46-47.
- To Sadā Shiva, 48.

Hymns to Dharma, 94, 95, 101, 102.

Listening to hymns of equal merit to listening to sermons, 146.

Meditations on Narasimhi, 112-3.

Reflect sectarian controversies, 147.

Salutation-songs:—

- Of the Creation by Dharma Niranjana, 39-41.
- devotees of Aśoka, 53-9.
- To Dharma, 100-1.
- Narasimhi, 113.
- Shiva, 27-31.

Hymns and sacred songs—*cont.*—

Sāmya Purāṇa, set to music and attended with dance, 197 (note).

Vaṇḍa Mātarām, greatest modern folk-hymn, 262.

I.

Id festivities, Egyptian similar to, 7.

Image-making :—

An art fostered by the Gambhīrā, 18.
Magnificently developed in Pāla-Chola times, 162.

Must conform to orthodox descriptions, yet gives scope to the imaginative artist, 18.

Shiva's crocodile, how made, 79-80.

Image-worship :—

Development of the early personification of gods, 12.

First practised probably with or soon after the making of images of gods in Epic times, 8.

Gājane Shiva, stone carried about in place of the permanent image, 76-7.

Images of new gods to replace those of old, 24.

Opposed by Mohammedans, 219.

Practised by Aśvās, 24 (note).

Triratna (Trinity) images, 147.

Imitation fruits and flowers :—

A famous product of mediæval Malda, 18.

An art encouraged by the Gambhīrā, 18.

Clay, Indian cork and wax largely used, 18.

India :—

Hoxry birthplace of various social conventions and institutions, 115.

School of Asia in Pāla-Chola times, 162.

Still one in soul, despite recent differentiation and narrowing, 21-4.

Indra (King of Gods) :—

Attends Jaina festivities, 123, 137, 138, 257.

Becomes a god of the Buddhists, Jains and Kāpālikas, 255.

Leases land to Shiva, 82.

Part of, played by King Harṣa, 13, 223.

Rides an elephant, 254.

Shurapāla compared to, 167.

Indra (King of Gods)—*cont.*—

Subordinated to Viṣṇu in *Śhrīmad-Bhāgavatā*, 253.

Takes the Uchchaisrava horse, 29.

Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva—a Mādhyamika deity—accepted by Brāhmanas as Indra, 146.

Worshipped in *Rig Veda* with music, song and dance, 121.

Intolerance, religious :—

Confined to an "insignificant fraction" in Harṣa Vardhana's time, 153.

Incendiarism attributed to that fraction, 153.

Of idolatry, by Mohammedans, 219, 220.

— Velled Buddhism, by Brāhmanas, 219, 221.

Shashāṅka's alleged persecution of Buddhism not proven, 159 (note).

Iron implements for self-wounding (Vānas), 103-6.

Islam in India :—

Advent of, initiates third epoch in making of modern Hinduism, 215.

At first regarded simply as alien, 215.

Conquest by, easy in North, difficult in South, 216.

— slowly realized by Hindus, 215-6.

Easy Islamization of Bengal, 217.

Facilitated the transformation of neo-Buddhism into Taistic Hinduism, 218.

Instances of *rapprochement* of Hindus and Moslems, 217-8.

Protection of Hindu arts and learning by Akbar, 218.

Mohammedan gods and saints as masks for Buddhists and Hindu deities, 219-20.

— hatred of idolatry drives Buddhists and Hindus to subterfuge, 219, 220.

— invasion song added to *Sāmya Purāṇa*, 224-5.

Urdu, an Indo-Islamic language, 217.

J.

Jagannātha :—

Lord of the Universe, 30.

Steals spirituous liquor, or wine, 100, 229.

— the Cane of Heaven, 38.

Jagannātha—cont.—

Worship of, increased by check to pilgrimage under Islam, 113.

Jainism:—

A pre-Buddhist religion, 136.

Assimilated by Shaivism, 25.

Buddhism implicit in, xvi.

Confession a condition of absolution, 136 (note).

Dharmapāla denied patronage to, on personal grounds, x66.

Festivals of, celebrated with music and dance, 123.

— probably submerged in Buddhism and then in Shaivism, 140-1.

— promoted cordiality, 130.

Jina, chief saint of, 137.

Jinas, worshipped at annual festivals, 138.

Once firmly established over all Bengal, 141.

Pāṇṣwanātha, Jaina saint and missionary, 139-40.

Processions of, 117-8.

Purdās of, akin to Hindu and mention Hindu deities, 137, 257.

Risabha Deva the first Jina, 137.

Shares with Hinduism belief in heaven and pantheon of gods headed by Indra; differs in certain principles, 136-7.

Similarity of Jina images to those of Shiva, 141, 257.

Story of Risabha similar to that of Shiva, 137-8, 257.

Tirthankaras, pioneers of Jainism, equivalent to Hindu avātara, 137.

K.

Kālī, or Kālīkā (War Goddess):—

A form of fire in the *Mandukya Upaniṣad*, 253.

A goddess of Terror in the Gambhīra-house, 56.

A wife of Shiva in the *Purdās*, 254, 255.

Mask-dance of, based on *Purdās*, 248.

— — like Vāṇa's, 245.

— — with four hands, 111.

One of the lower order of gods in Mahāyāna Buddhism, 144.

Popular with the warlike Bengali chiefs or zamindars, 233.

Pratāpāditya, a Kālī worshipper, rebels against Akbar, 233.

Kālī, or Kālīkā (War Goddess)—cont.—

Releases Anuruddha, 244.

Similar to Tārā of Buddhist Tantrism, 188, 206 (note).

Temples of, established under Mohammedan rule, 232.

Worship of, a military cult, 233.

— attended with physical austerities, 233.

Worshipped by Rāmaprasāda, 259.

Kārtika (War God):—

Disguise as a Kāzi in Invasion Song, 225.

Mask-dance of, 111.

Rides a peacock, 29.

Khalifās, improvisers of songs, 58.

Kṛiṣṇa (Viṣṇu):—

A deity of love and faith, 259.

An incarnation of Viṣṇu (*Śkrimad-Bhāgavata*), 255.

Diversions of at Dwārakā, 116, 130.

Fights King Vāṇa, 106, 244.

Processions of, 116, 121.

L.

Lakṣmī (Goddess of Fortune or Wealth):—

Condescends to come to earth, 38.

Included in Shiva's family in *Purdās*, 255.

Mentioned in *Rig Veda*, 253.

Rides an owl, 30.

Taken by Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), 29.

Land-holder, Shiva the first, 52.

Landlords (Zamindars):—

Fear of Brāhmanas deters from encouraging Buddhist festivities, 219.

Independence of under Mohammedans favours patronage of Shāiva festivities, 220.

Liberty, religious, striking examples of among Hindus, 131.

Lights in worship:—

Arati, or wave-offering, presentation of lights, 27.

Gambhīra temple, how lighted, 64-5.

— — illumined with garlands of lights for mask-dancing, 55.

— — lighted from day of installation of the Ghata, 52.

Light, an item of phallic worship, 235.

Lights, carried on the Vāṇas, 104.

Temple of Nīla (Shiva), lighting of meritorious for women, 80, 87.

Torches, 64, 65.

Literary academies of Bengal, viii.

Literature, Bengali:—

Grew and expanded hand in hand with religion, 15.

Modern religious treatises preferred to Sanskrit classics, 259.

Naturalness in, promoted by Gambhīra folk songs, 116.

Poets of, 450 mentioned in twelfth century, 209.

Senas, authors and patrons of literature, 211.

Writers of, in twelfth century, 208-12.

Literature, Indian:—

Deserves attention of modern sociologists, 115.

Has flourished as handmaid of religion, 15.

Highly improved under Buddhism, 15.

Lokeshwara:—

A neo-Buddhist deity, resembling Shiva, and worshipped by both Shaivas and Tantrists under the Shura kings, 165.

A shadow of Shiva, with Tārā as a shadow of Durgā, 171.

Generally associated with Tārā, 182.

Khasarpana Lokeshwara (see Avalokiteshwara).

Shivas like Lokeshwara and Lokeshwara like Shiva, 169, 173.

Various forms of, 257.

Worship of, not considered Tantric by Dipankara, 192.

Worshipped by Tantric Buddhists under the Pālas, 193.

Love:—

Creation of, 40 (note), 42.

Highly esteemed in Shiva worship, 242.

Seat of Dharma or Buddha, 40 (note), 41, 42, 63 (note).

Use of, in decorating the Gambhīra-house, 63-4.

— in mask-dance of Shiva-Pārvarī, 111-2.

— in worship, 41 (note).

Love (Bhakti):—

Embodied in the gods, 299.

Exemplified (with Faith and Hope) in Hindu devotional literature by Rāma and Śītā, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, 259.

Love and Romanticism, Religion of:—

Expressed in Hinduism, Brāhmanism, Buddhism, etc., xv.

Love and Romanticism, Religion of:—
cont.—

Grew out of the cult of World-Powers common to Rishists, Taoists and Shintōists, xvi.

M.

Mahākāla:—

A god worshipped by the Tantric Buddhists before terrific images, 171.

A name of Shiva, as Dharma's garden-keeper, 225.

Demi-god before the *Tantras*, then a god, 256.

King Vāna appointed Shiva's chief attendant under the name of Mahākāla, 246-7.

Recognized by Hindu Tantrists, 193.

Mangala-Chandi, Domestic Goddess:—

Guardian angel of Bengalee homes, 127.

Songs of, how accompanied, 127.

— indispensable, especially in marriages, 127.

Mahāyāna Buddhism:—

A sect proclaiming salvation for all, learned and unlearned alike, 142.

Avalokiteshwara, or Khasarpana Lokeshwara, god especially esteemed by Mahāyānists, 177-8.

— image of, with Amitābha Buddha on his head, regarded by Hindus as Shāmkara (Shiva) with Gaṅgā, 178.

Based on mercy and compassion as well as on religious devotion, 142-3.

Bodhisattvas, men who have risen to be Buddhas, 177.

Buddhas, Buddha Shaktis and Bodhisattvas, 176-7.

Buddhist adoption of Vedic elements, 194-5.

— and Hindu deities mixed in Rāmāi's Trinity, 194.

Compromise with Islam under Mohammedan rule, 219, 226-9.

Contributed largely to propagate theory of Shūnya or the Void, 142.

Founded by dissenters from the narrower orthodoxy of the Hinayāna, 142.

— probably by Ashvaghoṣa about 100 A.D.; systematized by Nāgārjuna, 143.

Mahāyāna Buddhism—cont.—

Influenced by Shaivism through Nāgārjuna's worship of Chandika, 143.

Interchange of deities with Hinduism, 146, 165.

Mādhyanika Order—sub-sect of Mahāyānism—and its views on Nirvāṇa, 144.

— as link between Hinduism and Buddhism brought about religious unification by developing a Tantrism in which Buddhism was ultimately lost, 175.

— inspired Rāmā's *Skandya Purāṇa*, 145.

Mahāyānic Void same as Hindu Brahman, 145, 176.

Mantrayāna view of Buddhist deities introduced by Rāmā, 196.

Multiplication of gods by the Mahāyānists, 176, 177.

Pleasant relations of Hindu Brāhmaṇas with Buddhist Mahāyānists, 144.

Provision for idol-worship, 145-6, 177.

Quarrels with Hīnayāna Buddhists, 175.

Sects:—

1. **Mādhyanika** (organized Mahāyānism), 144, 145, 175.

2. **Guhya Dharma Mantrayāna** { sects of Mādhyanika Mahāyānism, 145, 175.

3. **Kālacakra Vajrayāna** { Tantric sects of Mantrayānism, 145, 175.

Tantric Buddhism an offshoot from the Mādhyanika branch, via Mantrayānism, 145, 175.

— influence on, about equal to that on Hinduism, 165, 171.

— practices forbidden by Mahāyānic Tantrists in eleventh century, 192.

Teachings similar to those of liberal Hinduism, 142, 144.

Triratna (Trinity), respect for, 147.

Void endowed with form, by Mahāyānists, 176, 194, 197-8.

— source of all the gods, 193-4.

— theory of, the kernel of the Mādhyanika religion, 176.

Makers-up, theatrical or processional, 80.

Mandala, headman of village:—

A king in his own village, 66.

A Mandala for each community or caste, 66.

Controls the Gambhīra of his village or local sect or caste, 66.

Esteemed by the samindar or landlord, 66.

Formerly managed all village affairs, 66.

Now partly superseded by the Sāhātana, 66.

Punishes social culprits, 66.

Splits in Mandala families result in separate Gambhīras for the seceders, 67-8.

Tide and system still hold among Podas and similar low-class villagers, 74.

Mango-tree, account of its growth and uses, 37.

Mantras (incantations):—

Complete knowledge of necessary for effectiveness, 207.

Dharma Niranjana obtains a boon through meditating mantras, 41.

Gurumantra, mystic word or formula to propitiate a spiritual preceptor, 239.

Of *Skandya Purāṇa*: sung after every function of Dharma worship, though not essential, 196.

Manuscripts:—

Collected by Mr. Pālit, viii, ix.

Of Salutation-songs, 26, 32.

Marathi:—

Important to future historians, 25-6.

Researches in, vii.

Mask-dances, how dressed for and performed:—

Bear, 111.

Chāmunda, 111, 251.

Hanumān, 111.

Horse, 92, 111.

Kālī, 111.

Narasimha, 112.

Peacock, 111.

Sati, 251.

Shiva-Pārvatī, 111-2.

Vudda-mudi, 112.

Mask-dancing, or dancing in disguise:—

A part of Shiva worship based on the *Purāṇas* as well as on folk-tradition, 245, 247-8, 251-2.

Dance, disguise and revelry peculiarly favoured by Shīva, 122-3, 246, 251.

Mask-dancing, or dancing in disguise—*cont.*—

Legend of the False Mothers: attendants of Shiva who, in disguise as goddesses, amuse the god until the arrival of the real goddesses creates great confusion and merriment, 122, 248-51.

This legend probably suggested mask-dancing as a form of worship agreeable to Shiva, 251.

Masks:—

Always of wood formerly, especially neem-wood, 109.

Carved and painted according to precise rules, 109.

Earthen masks made by potters, 109.

Favourite gods and others represented by masks, 109.

Headgear of artificial flowers, 109-10.

How the mask is secured, 110.

Yāgrata, or living masks, 110.

Purification and fasting before wearing mask, 110.

Worship or consecration of the mask, 110.

Mātya Nyāya (struggle for existence or anarchy) or "state of nature," 164.

Matted hair, an attribute of gods:—

Bhrikoti, 179.

Kālī, 56.

Lokeshwara, 178, 180, 181.

Shiva, 232.

Tārā, 182, 184.

Matted hair, wearing of, an act of worship, 9, 132.

Mediæval research:—

Chronology and identity of most mediæval works and authors not finally settled, 21.

Mediævalism in worship:—

Possession by a ghost, 89-90.

— god, 89, 90-1.

Milk, ocean of, 38.

Mohammedans:—

Allow self-rule to Hindu princes, resulting in the protection and increase of Shaivism, 232.

Enemies of idolatry, 219.

Id festivities of, analogous to Gambhīrā, 7.

Join with Hindus in Gājan Nīla-pujā festivities, 80, 134.

No distinction between them and Hindus recognized by Āla Chānd, 34 (note).

Rapprochement of to Hindus in Bengal after the conquest, 217-8.

Monaseries:—

Nālandā, 178, 183.

Vikramashīlā, founded by Dharmapāla, 165.

— made a centre of Tantrism by Dipamkara, 172.

Months of festival:—

Chaitra (March-April) and Vaiśākha (April-May), especially dedicated to Shiva worship, 242.

— worship in, rewarded with wealth, beauty and high birth, 242.

— worship of Gauṛī in, rewarded with blessings beyond expectation, 243.

Phālgoon (February-March), great festivities in, 242.

Moral degeneracy in Bengal on the eve of Moslem conquest, 213.

Moral training:—

Gambhīrā a school for, 19.

— songs used to expose hidden sins, thus powerfully promoting reform, 20.

— teaches earnestness and trains in co-operative effort, 20.

Motherland identified with Durgā, the inspiration of Indian theology, 261-2.

Munis (Hindu ascetics) disguise themselves as Fakirs (Mohammedan *sannyāsīs*), 225.

Music:—

Akbar's encouragement of Hindu music, 218.

Chhālikya, mode invented by Panchachudā, 122.

Dhrupad, a Hindu invention, engrafted upon Mohammedan music, 218.

Hindola, a peculiar air sung at Dharma's Gājan, 97.

Khyāl, a Mohammedan invention, greatly used in Hindu music, 218.

Mangala, a mode of music, 124.

Māṭāna, note of stirring up, or excitement, 36.

Mutual borrowing by Hindus and Mohammedans, 217-8.

Ravārī, a mode of music, 124.

Scriptures, Hindu, mostly composed as songs, 128.

Volvāhi songs, characteristic tunes to, 37.

Music and dance:—

- Accomplishments of princesses, 121.
- Add grandeur to sacrifices, 121.
- Aid the spread of religion, 128.
- Associated with festivals since Vedic times, 121.
- By celestial musicians, 121, 122, 123.
- During sleepless nights (*jāgarana*), 239.
- Encouraged freely by the people, 122.
- Epics, *Purāṇas* and *Saṃhitās* teem with references to, 121-3.
- Fa Hien's testimony in Gupta times (400 A.D.), 124.
- Hsien Tsang's testimony in Hara's time (643 A.D.), 124, 125.
- In phallic worship, 128.
- Natural development of in societies, 128.
- Playing upon the cheeks, 125, 123.
- Powerfully affect Hindus, 123.

Musical instruments:—

- Bells, 125, 125, 126.
- Conch-shells, 9, 125, 126.
- Cymbals, 126, 127, 128.
- Dāmāṇā*, 125.
- Damaru* (small drum), 9, 39, 125, 123.
- Dhāka* (long drum), 37, 52, 53, 126.
- sticks, 36.
- Dholas*, 126.
- Drums (generally), 125, 126.
- Flutes, 126, 183.
- Harps, 183.
- Horns, 125, 126.
- Kādā* (drum beaten at one end), 126.
- Kāṇṇa* (instrument made of bell-metal), 55, 126.
- Karkarī*, 121.
- Khamaka*, 125.
- Khola* (kind of drum), 127, 128.
- Lute, 123.
- Lyres, 126, 184.
- Mridangas* (small drums), 9.
- Pootā*, 126.
- Sāṇḍī* (pipe), 126.
- Shingā*, 125, 223.
- Tāṇṇapūrā* (a stringed instrument), 127.
- Trumpets, 125.
- Turis (bugles), 126.
- Veris (kettle-drums), 125, 126.
- Vinā* (kind of lyre), 121.

Musicians:—

- Apsarās*, nymphs devoted to dance and music, 122, 248, 251.

Musicians—cont.—

- Kinnaras*, *Kinnarīs*, horse-headed musicians of the *Pardās*, 121, 132.
- Nārada*, a celestial singer, 59, 60, 122.
- defeated in competition by *Pancha-chudā*, 122.
- Vāṇas*, class of religious minstrels, 70.

N.

- Names, recitation of, 44, 54, 238.
- Natural dedications:—
- Death, 30, 83, 84, 254.
- Destruction and terror, 55, 56, 112.
- Divine or primordial energy, creative power, 7, 12, 39, 68, 84, 112, 134, 198, 199, 221, 222, 254.
- Fire, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 33, 253.
- India, Motherland, 260, 261, 262.
- Love, amatory passions, tempter, 147, 198.
- benign emotion, 239.
- Moon, 37, 167, 225.
- Ocean, 166, 167.
- Protection, 101, 112.
- Sun, 10, 14, 31, 33, 97, 98.
- Void, 27, 32, 42, 95, 101, 142, 145, 147, 175, 176, 193, 197, 198, 220, 221.
- Wind, 35, 197, 254.
- Nature, creation of by *Niranjana* *Dharmā*, 222.
- Nature-worship, the source of Hindu deities, 260.
- Nirvāṇa*, emancipation, 137.
- North and South India, different attitude to alien ideas, 216-7.

O.

Objects of worship:—

- Amkusha* (elephant-goat), 107, 241.
- Arrow, 107, 241.
- Battleaxe, 107, 241.
- Dhenki, 59-61.
- Footprints or sandals of Buddha, 136, 195.
- Images or idols, 8, 12, 14, 24 (note), 76-7, 147, 219.
- Masks, 110.
- Noose, 107, 241.
- Phallus of *Siva*, 235-7, 238.
- Piṇḍaka* (bow), 107, 116, 241.
- Sword, 107, 241.

286 THE FOLK-ELEMENT IN HINDU CULTURE

- Objects of worship—*cont.*—
 Thunderbolt, 107, 241.
 Trident, 107, 241.
 Vāna, 105.
 Occult Religion (Guhya Dharma), a sect of Mahāyāna Buddhism, 175.
 Ocean churned by the Gods, 29.
 Offerings to the Gods :—
 Betel-rods, 235.
 Burnt resin, 245.
 Clothes, 243.
 Cows, 227.
 Drink, 12.
 Flowers, 124, 147, 197.
 Food, 12, 148.
 Fruits, etc., 147-8.
 Ghee, 12, 56, 97, 197, 237.
 Goats, 97, 200.
 Golden orbs, 190.
 Horses, 8, 11, 111, 116.
 Incense, 27, 147.
 Lights, 27, 235, 241.
 Meat, 10, 12.
 Milk and water, 34-5.
 Ornaments, 243.
 Rice, 57, 98, 235, 241.
 — milk and sugar, 132, 168.
 Soma-rasa, 10, 11.
 Water, 99, 191, 235, 241.
 Wine, 12.
 Om :—
 A mystic syllable, sign of the Vedic Trinity, 112, 113, 194.
 Adopted by Buddhists, 194.
 Begins prayers and hymns, 112, 113, 195.
 Destroys sin, 194.
 Oriya language, MSS. in, viii.
 Ovis :—
 Like Shiva in character; like Mahākāla in form, 7.
 Rides Apis as Shiva rides the bull, 7.
 Wife apparently the Indian Shakti, 7.
 P.
 Painting :—
 Art of, much encouraged by the Gambhīrā festivals, 18.
 Canvas paintings of Kāligāt, 65.
 Decorative, with rice-paste, 19.
 Emulation among artists constantly improved work, 18.
 Hindu, patronized by Akbar, 218.
 Pictures by Ravi Varmā, 65.
 Pictures of gods, 18, 49 (note).
 Pāla-Chōla period, last phase of independent Hindu India, 163, 215.
 Pāla Kings :—
 An under-rated group of monarchs until recently, 160.
 As rulers not inferior to the famous Vardhana, Guptas and Mauryas, 160.
 Carried on the highest traditions of Hindu national culture, 161, 162.
 Dharmapāla and Rajendra Chōla worthy to rank with their most eminent predecessors, 160-1.
 Earlier Pālas staunch Buddhists; later gave way to Shaivism and Vaishnavism, 170.
 Hindu wives of Buddhist kings, 174.
 Images of Mahākāla found among Pāla relics, 193.
 Madanapāla, a Buddhist, in an inscription glorifies Shiva, 174.
 Mahipāla makes grants of land to Brahmins to propitiate Buddha, 172.
 Mahipāla's minister, Dipankara, spreads Tantric Buddhism throughout Gauda, 171-2.
 Nārāyanapāla, a staunch Buddhist, endows and protects Shaivism, 167-9, 170.
 Pāla kings chosen by the people and their eclectic religious policy dominated by the people, 165, 169.
 Pālas made Bengal one of the great powers in India, xiv, 163 (note).
 — said to be descended from the Ocean-god, 166-7.
 Rājyapāla probably only a nominal emperor, 171.
 Rāmapāla builds temples to Shiva, 173.
 Religious eclecticism of the Pālas in Gauda, 165-9.
 — revolution among the people followed by their rulers, 170.
 Shurapāla as a Vedic fire-worshipper, 167.
 Paper-cutting :—
 An exquisite old Indian art, much used in Gambhīrā decoration, 18-9.
 Paper lotuses as temple decorations, 63-4.
 Pārāhwaṇātha :—
 A Jaina saint or demi-god, 139.
 Born in the purple, 139.

Pārahwanātha—cont.—

- Excitement in heaven over his birth, 139.
- Festival of his birth and emancipation, 139, 140.
- Journeys as preacher to redeem the fallen, 139.
- Realizes divine knowledge, exerts supernatural power and firmly establishes Jainism in the Pundras, 140.
- Pārvaṭī (Chandī, Durgā, Gaurī, Adyā) :—
 - As Shiva's wife in *Mahābhārata*, 8.
 - Counsels Shiva to take to agriculture, 82.
 - Fitted with bracelets by Shiva, 84-5.
 - Image of, set up by Nārāyaṇapāla, 108 (note).
 - Impersonated by Chitrakēhā, 249-50.
 - Married to Shiva, 231.
 - Mask-dance of Shiva-Pārvaṭī, 111-2.
 - Replaced by Ārya Tārā by Buddhists, 14.
- Pārvaṭī's bracelets, song of, considered holy by Hindu married women, 84-5.
- Phallic Shaivism :—
 - First god of the Shaivas, a phallus filling all space, 234.
 - Gradual humanisation of the original phallic Shiva, 234.
 - Legend of the falling of the phallus, 234-5.
 - Length as compared with Greek and Assyrian forms, 235.
 - Making of the emblem of Shiva, 235.
 - Perfecting and purifying, 235-6.
 - Procession in Shiva's Gājan, 120.
 - Temple and altar, 236, 238.
 - Worship celebrated with dance, song and music, 238.
 - ritual, 235 (note), 236-7.
 - similar to Buddhist festivities, 237.
- Phoṭṭā, sectarian mark on forehead, 40 (note), 45, 75, 96, 98, 196, 197.
- Physical austerities :—
 - Ceremony of Vāṇafodā, or piercing with the vāṇa (arrow, dart or needle), practised at Gājan and Gambhīrā, 87, 103, 108.
 - Fire-holding or trident-vāṇa, 104.
 - Jihvā Vāṇafodā (piercing the tongue), 104-5.
 - Kapāla Vāṇafodā (piercing the forehead), 103-4.

Physical austerities—cont.—

- Piercing with thoros, a refined edition of Vāṇafodā, 108.
- Popular with all ranks, 233.
- Practised in Kālī worship, as a military cult, 233.
- Priṣṭha Vāṇafodā (piercing the back with hooks for suspension to the Chadaṅka Post), 51, 87, 106.
- Sannyāsis recruited from a military class, 108.
- Spear, scimitar and spade dances, 108.
- Tongue and back piercing Vāṇafodā not now practised, 108.
- Triśūla Vāṇafodā (piercing the side with a trident-shaped vāṇa), 104.
- Vela-kāntā, piercing implement, 105, 106.
- Village blacksmith's important functions, 103, 105.
- Worship of the vāṇas, cleansing from rust and preparation for use, 105, 107.
- Piercing, the five, 97.
- Pilgrimage, increased risk of after Moslem conquest, led to building of home temples, 213.
- Pithas, shrines or holy places, 206.
- Plants in Hindu mythology and ritual :—
 - Bamboo, 56, 121.
 - Banana, 54, 56, 85, 223.
 - Bodhi, 165, 178, 181, 182.
 - Champā, 50.
 - Cotton, 38.
 - Dhātaki, 140.
 - Flowers, 124, 147, 197, 241.
 - Ginger, 228.
 - Hātaka, 255.
 - Hemp, 54.
 - Jack, 54.
 - Java (China rose), 104, 108, 200.
 - Jute, 64.
 - Karavi, 36.
 - Kusha, 76, 236, 241 (note).
 - Lotus, 40 (note), 41, 42 (note), 63, 64, 112, 151, 178, 179, 180, 181, 184, 185, 186, 240, 241.
 - Mango, 37, 56, 111.
 - Marmelos, 27, 78, 105, 108, 165.
 - Myrobalsans, 132.
 - Neem, 109.
 - Oda, 50.
 - Paddy (rice), 57, 82-4.
 - Palm, 9, 235.
 - Pārijāta, 38.
 - Rice, 52, 98, 132, 168, 235, 241.
 - Saffron, 236, 241 (note).

Plants in Hindu mythology and ritual—*cont.*—

- Sandal, 34, 36, 125, 165, 241.
- Screw-pine, 36.
- Sesamum, 27, 105.
- Soma, 8, 10.
- Tamarind, 79.
- Turmeric, 128.
- Vahedā, 132.

Poetry:—

- Fostered and inspired by Gambhīrā, 15.
- Twelfth century Bengali poets, 210-1.
- Vallāla and Lakṣmana Sena, poets and patrons of letters, 211.
- Verse-making competitions at the Gājan, 79.

Poets of the Gambhīrā:—

- Express the life of the poor and lowly, 17.
- More influential and "immortal" than poets of the educated classes, 17.

Musical powers of, fostered by the Gambhīrā, 15.

Political organization:—

Gambhīrā affords practical political training, 20-1.

Indian village communities analogues of Russian *mir*s, 22.

Mandala, or headman, 21.

Māṇḍalikā system of organization, a miniature royal court, 21.

Panchayet, or council of five, 21, 22.

Used for trial of offenders and to arrange Gambhīrā business, 21-2.

Vārika, or Parāmānika, Mandala's man of affairs, 21.

Potter, or Blacksmith (Kāla), assists at the Creation, 27, 32.

Prākṛit language, 163.

Processions:—

- Arranged from very early times, 120.
- Ashvamedha, 116.
- Avahṛita, 116.
- Ayodhyā, 116.
- Bharatmūlāp, 111.
- Brahmā's, 116.
- Buddha's, 118-9, 123.
- Chaitrotsava (Buddhist), 119, 124, 156.
- Chariot (Buddhist), 119, 124.
- Chitrakūṭa (Jaina), 118.
- Dharma Pādūkā, 120, 240.
- Durgā's, 120-1.
- Flowery Car (Śhaiva), 117.
- Temple (Śhaiva), 117.

Processions—*cont.*—

Gājan of Dharma, rules by Rāmāi, 119-20.

— of Śhiva, phallic, 120, 237.

Gaṇapati, 121.

Jina Deva's, 118.

Kāma's, 116.

Kṛiṣṇa's (Vaiṣṇava), 116, 121.

Pāśupata's (Śhaiva), 240.

Rāmāi's, 121.

References to in Buddhist works, 118-9.

— Dharma-maṅgala, 120.

— Purāṇas, 116-8.

— Saṃhitās, 117.

— Vedas and Epics, 116.

— works of Rāmāi Pandit, 119-20.

Risabh Deva's (Jaina), 117.

Śākyasimha's (Buddhist), 118-9, 123, 135.

Śhiva's, 117, 243.

Skandagovinda, 117.

Sumukha's, 117.

Tirthamkaras' (Jaina), 117.

Vaṃśadeva's (Jaina), 117-8.

Purāṇas, gods of, more definite and humanized than those of *Vedas*, 254-6.

— goddesses of, higher in status than gods; delineations of primordial energy, 254.

Purification:—

No distinction of purity in the holy atmosphere of the gods, 28, 31.

Of votaries by the words of the Lord of Gods, 28.

With a mark, 196.

— urine of the cow, 196, 197.

Words of purification, 37.

R.

Rāma (hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*):—

Army of, embraces Rāvana's army after the war, 109.

Celebrates Spring Festival, 118.

Has gold image of Sītā made, 256.

Head of, impervious to a saw, 107.

Rāma tarpana, offering water to his spirit, 99.

Usually mentioned with Lakṣmana, 46, 55, 109, 118, 237.

Worships Jina, 118.

Rāmāi Pandit:—

Apostle of Dharma's Gājan, 195.

Brotherhood of his disciples, 131-2.

Chief priest of Dharma, 97.

Creation story Rāmāi's, 197-9.

Rāmāi Pandit—cont.—

- Disciples sixteen in number, 158.
- Dharma-pada-paddhati*, Rāmāi's text-book of Dharma worship, 196.
- Dharma worship, Rāmāi's, tacitly based on Tantrism, 192.
- Graha-bharana ceremonies arranged by Rāmāi, 97.
- Introduces Dharma's footprints or sandals in lieu of his image, 195.
- Hindu along with Buddhist deities, 194.
- Mādhyamika sect of Mahāyāna Buddhism inspired Rāmāi's *Shanya Purāṇa*, 145.
- Mantrayāna view of Buddhist deities introduced by Rāmāi, 196.
- Preached Dharma to all people, 196.
- Religious ideal a slightly modified form of that of Atisha or Dīpankara, 190.
- Said to have lived at Gauda in twelfth century, 119.
- Shanya Purāṇa* based on Buddhist Tantric meditation on the Void, 193.
- — order of chapters, 196-7.
- Reincarnation of Adya (Gauri, Sati), references to, 199, 200, 251.
- Religion, Eastern:—
- Fundamentally the same in India, China and Japan, xi.
- Sameness probably due to the common mentality of Asiatics, xi.
- Terms such as Hinduism, Brāhmanism, Buddhism, etc., very ambiguous, xv.
- Unity obscured by diversity of rites, etc., in different parts of India, 25.
- Religious observances:—
- Local diversity of, obscures their underlying unity, 25.
- Observed in common by votaries of different deities, 131.
- Rarely quite disinterested, 3.
- Repetition of names of gods:—
- An act of worship performed standing on one foot, 44, 48.
- Revolution, religious:—
- In Bengal, in Pāla times, 170.
- Jainism supplants Vedism to be itself displaced by Hinduism, 171.
- Tantric Buddhism ousts Hinduism to lose itself in Shaivism, 171.
- Rice cooked by the gods, 243.
- Rice-growing by Shiva, 82-4.

Risabha Deva:—

- A religious pioneer, first Jina, or chief saint of the Jainas, 137-8.
- Born at the Brāhmā-mahāyoga, 137.
- Favoured by the gods, 137.
- Impressed by the dancing of Nīlan-jasā, 123, 137.
- Retires to the Kailāsa mountain and there realizes Nirvāṇa, 137-8.
- Story of, an echo of Shiva's, 138.
- Worship of at his birthday festival apparently contributed to the starting of the Gambhīra, 138.
- Ritual accessories and regalia of gods:—
- Appointments of Shiva's temple, 236, 238.
- Ashes of cow-dung, 45, 105, 106.
- Astardāna, 65.
- Bedstead, 33, 39, 40 (note), 45.
- Book dealing with all religions, 179, 181.
- Chomackas, iron lamps, 64.
- Coloured water, 242.
- Copper-plates, 240.
- Darker pātāla, 32.
- Dhenki, 59, 223.
- Dhepa, incense, 53, 56, 64.
- Dhuvchi, 32.
- Fly-brushes, 35, 125-6, 127, 238.
- Frankincense, 64.
- Garlands, 56, 60, 63, 119, 200, 236, 238.
- of bones, 9, 45.
- of human skulls and heads, 187, 188.
- of thread balls, 76-7.
- Ghata, 32, 49, 51, 69, 75, 76, 197, 200 (note).
- Holy water (shānti jalā), 54, 123.
- Kamandalu, water-pot, 31, 135, 179, 181.
- Maces, 36.
- Moon ornaments, 45, 181.
- Mustard oil, 64.
- Pancha-gavya, five substances mixed for purification, 236.
- Panchāmṛta, five nectarine substances mixed for purification, 236.
- Pata, 49 (note), 235.
- Rāmakeli, pictures drawn on cloths, 65.
- Rosary, 179, 181.
- Sarā, earthen cups, 64.
- Suvarna-mandala, golden orb, 190.
- Tridanda, three staves, 179, 180.
- Trident (tirucha), 224, 230, 241.

Ritual accessories and regalia of gods—*cont.*—

Ukās, torches of dried jute plants, 64.

Utensils made by the gods, 32-3.

Vānas, 203-6.

Wine, 9.

Roaring and grinning, acts of worship by the Āyia sect, 34 (note).

Rudra (Shiva) :—

A fire-god in the *Vedas*, figured as wearing a crown and other ornaments, wielding bows and arrows and preparing medicines, 253.

Humanized and furnished with wives in Post-Vedic literature, 254.

S.

Sacrifices (*see also* Offerings) :—

Agni-dāivata, 12.

Ashwamedha (horse), 8, 11, 116, 256.

Becoming more complex when *Mahābhārata* was written, 8.

Bow, 116.

Chāturmāsya (horse, extending over four months), 12.

Dakṣa's, 251.

Darśha (new moon), 11, 12.

Goat, 97, 197 (note), 200.

Human, 187.

Increasing complexity of, apparent in Vedic literature, 10, 12.

Mohammedan (cows), 227.

Music and dance inseparably associated with, 121.

Paurṇamāsya (full moon), 11, 12.

Rājāsuya, 122, 129.

Renunciation of by Bhikṣus, 144.

Tantric, of animals, 171.

To ancestors, or the dead, 71, 191.

To Fire-gods, 11, 12.

Used as occasions of social enjoyment and fraternal gatherings, 129.

Sāhityātrā of Orissa :—

A celebration like the Gājan and Gambhīrā festivities of other places and with similar ceremonies and dances, 91.

Doubt as to presiding deity owing to ghata (water-jar) being generally the sole emblem, 91.

Image of goddess resembling Shakti used in many villages, 91.

Local dances—Chait-Ghoda (horse-dance), dance of sparrows, old man and his old wife, etc., 92.

111.

Salvation, plan of, proclaimed by the Mahāyāna Buddhists, 142-3.

Sannyāsīs (*see* Bhaktas) :—

General term for ascetics; technical term for votaries of Gambhīrā and Gājan, 75 (note).

Ignore caste-rules in the Gambhīrā and Gājan, 133-4.

Mula-Sannyāsī, or chief votary of the Gājan, an hereditary post,

74.

— — leader of the Gājan ceremonies,

75.

Selection and initiation ceremonies,

75-7.

Self-tortures, or physical austerities, 81, 85-7.

Sanskrit :—

Lingua franca of educated India through the ages, 24.

MSS., viii.

Translations from, into Indian vernaculars, has imparted local colouring to all Indian traditions, 24.

Twelfth century the "Augustan Age of Sanskrit learning in Bengal,"

211.

Vallāla Sena, a royal author, 211.

Sarasvatī :—

A Vedic goddess, 253.

Goddess of learning, 261.

Included in family of Shiva, 255.

Saubhāratā milana, or Hindu *ententes cordiales*, 129, 130.

Sects, denominations or churches of Hindu religion, 120.

Secular interests, influence of, on Hindu life and thought, 2.

Self-creation of the Creator, 40.

Sena Emperors :—

Dynasty of strong Imperial administrators in Bengal, 212.

Established a United Bengal early in twelfth century, 173 (note).

Failure of before Moslems not fully explained, 214.

Lakṣmanā Sena appoints Halkynda his religious minister, who endeavours to regulate the dominant Tantrism, 208.

— — first Shaivite, then Vaiṣṇavite, 208.

— — possibly converted by songs of Jayadeva, 210.

— — poet and patron of literature, 211.

- Sena Emperors—*cont.*—
 Vallāla Sena, author, 211.
 — — banishes Brāhmanas for oppression, 207-8.
 — — degrades the goldsmith caste, 205.
 — — founder of Kulinism, 204-5.
 — — offends higher castes, 204.
 Vijaya Sena, military genius and conqueror, 211.
 — — staunch Shaivist, 203-4.
- Serpent:—
 Created to bear the three worlds, 43.
 Fed with frogs, 43.
 Made immortal, 43.
- Shaivism (or Shaiva-cum-Shāktaism):—
 A faith of centuries in all parts of India, 23.
 Assimilated both Buddhism and Jainism in Bengal, 25, 169.
 Buddhism implicit in, xvi.
 Chequered course of, in Indian history, 2.
 Dharmapāla's religious toleration acts in favour of Hinduism as against Buddhism, 165-6.
 — successors show increasing respect for Brāhmanas and their religion, resulting in the gradual displacement of Buddhism by Shaivism in Bengal, 166-9.
 Diversity of rites and ceremonies obscures underlying unity, 25.
 Doctrine of a personal God gives advantage over Buddhism and Jainism, 23.
 Drunkenness of early votaries, 9.
 Established in Bengal under the later Pālas and almost undistinguishable from Buddhism, 172.
 Establishment in the capitals leads to general adoption in the country, 174.
 Incorporates Buddhist gods, 146, 165, 173.
 Modern complex worship evolved from originally simple rites, 10.
 Officially encouraged under the Pālas and Cholas, 162, 170.
 Protection of, under Nārāyanapāla favours gradual spread over all Pāla territory, 170.
 Relations of with Buddhism the subject of present book, vii-viii.
- Shaivism (or Shaiva-cum-Shāktaism)—*cont.*—
 Rooted in Bengal before Pāla times, 170.
 Shakti, Chandi or Durgā identified with the Buddhist Aḍṛā, 233.
 Similarity of gods leads to indiscriminate use of temples by Shaivas and Buddhists, 173.
 Spreads to Pāla queens, 174.
 — to the inscriptions of Buddhist rulers, 174.
 Tantric form of, similar to Tantric Buddhism, 171, 172.
 Temple attached to every Hindu home, 232.
 — of Shiva, palatial, 236, 238.
 Under Islam, the favour shown to Hindu princes, mostly worshippers of Shakti, gives impetus to Shaivism, 232.
 Wandering Sannyāsīs sing the glories of Shiva and propagate his worship, 232.
- Shakti (Pārvatī, wife of Shiva):—
 "Aw" her verbal symbol: combined with the "Maw" of Shiva makes the mystic "Om," 194.
 Divine energy personified, 12.
 Marriage of, to Shiva, 231.
 Mentioned in Buddhist Tantric works, 258.
 Sāhiyātrā of Orissa held in many villages before an image of Shakti, 91.
 Worshipped with Shiva in eleventh century, 172.
- Shaktis, or goddesses, wives of gods:—
 Impersonations of divine energy, 146.
 Buddhist, incorporated with Hindu gods before Pāla times, 165.
 In Buddhist Tantras, 188.
 Mahāyānic Buddhists as creators of Shaktis or wives for the Buddhas, 176-7.
 Tārā imagined as surrounded by Shaktis, 187.
- Śāstras, or Scriptures and Sciences:—
 Adapted to conditions of time and place, 24.
 Govern social and religious life, 24.
 Mostly composed as songs, 128.
 Varieties of, 114.
- Shaving, obligatory on devotees in the Gājan, 75, 76.

Shiva—

- A placable and popular Hindu deity, 3, 8, 9.
- Adornments of, 44, 45.
- Assists Vishwakarmā to make imple-
ments of agriculture, 83.
- Attends Dharma's Gājan as a guest,
223.
- Gambhīrā with his wife and
family, 4.
- Beverages of, 255.
- Bhadrakālī and Virabhadra born from
his spleen, 256.
- Boons granted by, to King Vāna, 106,
246-7.
- Concern at the plight of Vāna, his
devotee, 244, 246.
- Crocodile of, 79.
- Deceived and entertained by nymphs
disguised as goddesses, 122, 248-
51.
- Described as a man in Epic litera-
ture, 8.
- Devotion to, of his wife, Sati, 255.
- Disguises himself as Adam, 224.
- Follows his wife's advice in agri-
cultural matters, 82, 83-4, 223.
- Formless at first, 48.
- Grows cotton, 38.
- paddy, 57, 82-4, 90.
- Growth of in importance in *Purāṇas*,
Saṃskṛta and *Tantras*, 254-8.
- Hires land of Indra, 82.
- Holds a flower and flowers adorn his
head, 30.
- Image of, confounded with that of
Lokeshwara Buddha, 165, 171,
173.
- probably began to be made when
the Epics were written, 8.
- Image-worship of, probably began
about the same time, 8.
- Invited to Dharma's Gājan, 222,
230.
- Joint image of, with Gauri, 231.
- Khattāṅga, peculiar weapon of, 71,
230.
- Legend of the phallus, 234-5.
- Married to the daughter of Dharma,
thereby taking chief place in
Dharma's Gājan, 231.
- Middle position in the Hindu Trinity,
26, 32.
- Patron of dancing, 122-3.
- Plays his shiṅga and damru and
also on his cheeks, 125, 223.
- Presides over Shivaloka in Epic times,
9.

Shiva—cont.—

- Quarrel and reconciliation with
Dakṣa, 255-6.
- Replaced in Buddhism by Bodhisattva,
14.
- Reproached for inactivity, 29.
- Sacred thread, a live snake, 230.
- Salutes Dharma, 221.
- Shivarātrī, recital of Shiva's rewards
to his votaries, 4.
- Shivarātrī, night of Shiva, 3.
- Temple of, to be like a palace, 238.
- Three eyes of, 46, 199.
- Travels from door to door as a beggar,
223.
- Visits Pārvatī as a seller of shell
bracelets, 84-5.
- Wives of, 254, 255.
- Shiva, other names of (*for pages see*
Proper Names Index):—
- Ardha-chandra.
- Āruṇa Vaidyanātha.
- Ashutoma.
- Bābā Ishāneshwara.
- Bhava.
- Bhīma.
- Bhīma Kedāra.
- Bhōlā Maheshwara.
- Bhōlānātha.
- Chandra Shekhara.
- Dātānātha.
- Digamvara.
- Gambhīra.
- Gaṅgādharma.
- Hara.
- Mādhava (mostly Kṛiṣṇa but some-
times Shiva).
- Mahādeva.
- Maheshwara.
- Mṛityunjaya.
- Nata-rāja.
- Nṛitya-priya.
- Nīla.
- Pāshupati.
- Phanī-bhūṣana.
- Pradyumneshwara.
- Puṣpapāni.
- Rudra.
- Sadāśiva.
- Shamkara.
- Shivāgni.
- Shivanātha.
- Tripurāri.
- Vishwambhara.
- Vishwanātha.
- Vishveshwara.
- Vṛiṣabha-dhvaja.
- Yogendra.

Shunya Purāṇa of Rāmāi Pandit:—

- A partial collection of songs and hymns of Dharma-worship, 93.
- All the songs to be sung at the worship, 124.
- Authorship attributed to a cycle or school, 221 (note).
- Contents of, 196-7.
- Creation story in, 197-9, 221-2.
- Dharma's Gājan the form of worship inculcated, 195.
- Inspired by the doctrine, "All is Void," 145, 193.
- Mangala and Ravāri modes of music used, 124.
- Marks a very important stage in socio-religious evolution, 221.
- Mohammedan invasion-song (*Wrath of Niranjana*) a later addition, 224.
- Presents gods under two environments—declining Buddhism and aggressive Islam, 221.
- Probably imitates Buddhist festivities seen by Hsien Tsiang, 223.
- Religious ideal of, a modification of Dipamkara's, 190.

Sin:—

- Asoka's Festival of Atonement, 156, (note).
- Bi-monthly confession of Bhiksua, 156 (note).
- Confession a preliminary to absolution in Gambhīrā, 20.
- Gambhīrā confession probably a relic of Asoka's festival, 158.
- Hinayāna Buddhists probably introduced confession, 156.

Singers:—

- Kunāla, blind, 123.
- Nārāda, singer and sage, 59, 60, 122.
- Pancha-chudā, inventor of Chhālīkya, 122.

Singing:—

- At festivals, 11.
- Competition in heaven, 122.
- Exposure of sinners by, 20, 55.
- Hindolana, singing the Hindola at Dharma's Gājan, 97.
- Ritual of, 26-7, 44, 48, 49.
- Songs of Rāmāi, all to be sung in Dharma-worship, 124.
- Sleeping in the temple at night, danger of, 70.
- Sleepless nights, passing of (jāgaran), 76, 79, 89, 90, 238-9.
- Smallpox, worship of Shtālā prescribed for, 258.

Snake Songs (*Lays of Viśaharī*) as charms against snakes, 128.

Social gatherings:—

- Brotherly gatherings, *Saubbhātra Milana*, a feature of Hindu social life from very early times, 129.
- Festivals gave occasion for such gatherings, when both sexes laid aside their feuds and made merry together, 129.
- Frequent in the Vedic age, 129.
- Hostile armies fraternize after fighting, in *Rāmāyana*, 129.
- Innumerable instances in *Mahābhārata*, 129-30.
- Loving relations of heroes in *Hari-vamsha*, 130.
- — Shālvās in the *Samhitās*, 130.
- Meetings for worship promoted brotherly love among Jains, 130.
- Religious conferences of Buddhists helped to develop fraternity among Buddhists of all varieties, 130-1.
- gatherings attended by Fa Hien and Hsien Tsiang, at which devotees of different gods held united worship and festival, 131, 155, 156-8.

Sannyāsīs of Dharma bound by tie of unity, 131-2.

- Social dinner of the gods, 132.
- Thread-tying, a symbol of unity observed by men and women in Dharma-worship, 133.
- Union of different castes in Gambhīrā and Gājan, 133-4.
- Vijayā greetings of the Durgā Pūjā, analogous to Christmas and New Year greetings, 134.

Sociology, Indian:—

- A science in the making, 1.
- All conclusions at present provisional, 1-2.
- Archæology, ecology and ethnology to be consulted, 1.
- Bias to be avoided, 2.
- Data if studied would prepare the way for universal sociology, 2, 115.
- in present volume the result of preliminary spade-work, 2.

Soma:—

- An unidentified Vedic plant, 8.
- Drinking of its juice (*soma-rasa*), a characteristic rite of early worship, 8, 10, 11.

Songs, collections of:—

Bhāṣya of Manuśā, 127-8.

Bhōgipāla, songs of, 125.

Dharma-Mangala, by Ghanarāma, 125.

— — by Mānik Gāngulī, 126.

— — by Yātrāiddhi Rāy, 128.

Dharma - puja, by Gaudeśhwara, 126.

Gopipāla, songs of, widely circulated, 125.

Govinda Chandra, Lays of, sung in toto, 125, 189.

Jagajjivana, 128.

Mahipāla, songs of, 125, 189.

Māli Songs, 259.

Mangala-Chandi, by Kavikamkana, 126-7.

— — by Mānik Datta, 126, 127.

Mānikochandra, Lays of, 189.

Padmā, Songs of, by Vipradāsa, 128.

Shivagītā, 82.

Shanya Padma, by Rāmāi Pandit, all sung in Dharma-worship, 124, 189.

Tantravibhakti, 128.

Vāḍai, Lays of, 193 (note).

Yogipāla, songs of, 125.

Songs of the Gājan:—

Competitive versifying, 79.

Dehāra-bhanga (Breaking-down of the Temple), 224, 226-9.

Ruṣmā (Wrath) of Niranjana, or Invasion Song, 224-5.

Shiva's Cultivation Song, 82-4.

— Bracelet Song, 84-5.

Songs of the Gambhīra:—

A poet's tribute to, 16.

Comparable with English miracle-plays and Japanese no-plays, 26.

Compositions of village poets, 26.

Cover almost every department of human life, 17.

Inspiration and fine quality of, 15.

Poets of, 15.

Quality of a song dependent upon its *muddā* (theme), 57.

Used for exposing sinners, 20.

Verse-making competitions, 79.

Volūhi, special songs improvised by experts, 57-8.

Soul, devotional state of necessary in worship, 239.

Spiritual ideals associated with secular interests in moulding Hindu life and thought, 2, 114-5.

Spiritualism, rustic:—

Possession by ghosts, 89.

— the local god, 90-1.

Predictions by local ghosts less reliable than those by stranger ghosts, 89.

Prescriptions by ghosts, 90.

Quarrels of village ghosts, 89.

Villagers prefer ghosts to gods, 89.

Struggle for existence (*mātya nyāya*) between Vedists and Buddhists, 164.

Sun and Moon worship:—

Bowing to Sun and Moon, 37.

"Glorious Sun-god," interpretation of Bhānu Bhāskara Rāya, 31.

Prabhākara Vardhana and Keshava Sena, Sun-worshippers, 151, 214.

Sun, represents the Creator, 194.

Sun-god and Moon-god, become foot-soldiers and strike up a concert, 225.

Sun-god, dries earthen vessels, 33.

— worship of, 14, 97, 98, 131, 151, 157, 158.

— worshipped in Vedic times, 10.

Sun-gods, the twelve, 97.

Syllables, mystic or auspicious:—

Aw, Maw, Naw, Saw, 194.

Hoom, 181.

Om, 112, 113, 194, 195.

Ulu, ulu, 59, 60, 125, 139.

T.

Talent fostered by the Gambhīra, 17.

Tamil:—

Important to future historians, 25-8.

Researches in, vii.

Value of, demonstrated by Mr. S. K. Aiyangar, 26 (note).

Tantric Buddhism (or neo-Buddhism):—

An offshoot from the Mādhyamika branch of Mahāyānism, 145.

175.

Animal sacrifices of, 171.

Atisha (Dipamkara Śrījñāna), representative Tantric Buddhist of Eastern India about 1040 A.D., 180-92.

Brought about rapprochement of Mahāyānists and Pūrāṇists, 186.

Difficult to distinguish from Tantric Hinduism, 151, 152, 171.

Dramatic work showing Tantric influence, 186-8.

Tantric Buddhism (or neo-Buddhism)—

cont.—

Established by Hargha Vardhana in Eastern India, 151.

Influence of, contrary to Buddhist humane doctrine, 188.

Practices of, the backbone of the Shaiva Gambhīra, 189.

Principal deities of:—

Avalokiteshwara, or Lokeshwara Buddha, shining, holding a lotus, with Amitābha seated on his long matted hair, 178-9, 180, 257.

Bhrikuti, with four hands and three eyes, carrying tridanda, water-pot and rosary, 179, 180.

Chāmunda, blood-red, wearing garlands of human heads, and with eight, ten or sixteen hands, 188.

Hārīti, identical with Hindu Shitalā, 238 (note).

Hayagrīva, crimson-coloured, short, long-bellied, three-eyed, 179, 180.

Jamāri, of disfigured face and tawny hair, holding club, 181-2.

Lokeshwara Buddha, image in Mayurbhanj, with four hands and three eyes, a copy of the Hindu Mahādeva (Shiva), 181.

Mahākālā, terrific images of, 171, 193.

Manasa, Goddess of snakes, 258.

Manjuśrī, yellow-complexioned, adorned with jewels, holding a lotus, 181.

Potalaka, lean, with large belly, 179.

Shakti, many forms of, 258.

Sudhanvā Kumāra, yellow as gold, holding a book under his left arm-pit, 179, 180, 181.

Tārā, dark, in full bloom of youth, holding a lotus, 179, 180, 183, 258.

— other types of, 182-6, 257-8.

Shunya, or Void, meditation on introduces worship, 193.

Steady spread of, from time of Fa Hien to that of Hsien Tsang, 180.

Transformation into Tantric Hinduism favoured by advent of Islam, 218.

Tantric Shaivism (or Shaiva-cum-Shāktism, a phase of neo-Hinduism):—

Accepted as personal religion by Shashānka and other kings of Eastern India, 150.

Difficult to distinguish from Tantric Buddhism, 151, 152, 171.

Firmly established under the later Pāla and the Varman kings, 203.

Likeness of gods, rites and ceremonies assists Shaivism to absorb Buddhism, 202.

Mādhava Sena a Shaivist, 214.

Supremacy of under later Sena kings, 213.

Tantric images found in Bengal much outnumber all others, 206.

Tantrism and Tārā worship in great vogue in Gauda, 206.

— leads to neglect of the *Vedas* and decay of Brāhmanical learning, 207.

Tantrism:—

A unifying principle in Hindu religion, 151-2.

Common faith in, led different creeds and sects to approximate in forms of worship, 152-3.

Mahāyānic Buddhists and Hindus of Shaiva and other cults almost equally addicted to Tantrism, 165.

Matya-Sukta, written by Halyādya to check Tantric excesses, 208.

Predominant in Buddhism in middle of seventh century, 175.

Supreme in twelfth century in Gauda, 208.

Swallowed up in a common philosophy Mahāyāna Buddhism and latter-day Brāhmanism in Pāla-Chola times, 162.

Tastrap rule social affairs in twelfth century, 207.

Unopposed in Gauda early in the eleventh century, 189.

Yoga, a feature of Tantrism, 192.

Tārā, chief Tantric goddess:—

A goddess greatly esteemed by the Mahāyānists, 183.

Generally imaged as on the left side of Lokeshwara Buddha, 182, 257.

Hsien Tsang describes her image at Nālandā, 183.

Tārā, chief Tantric goddess—*cont.*—

Her various names and figures :—

Ārya Tārā, or Ādyā Devī, or Dharma Devī, etc., presiding goddess of the Gambhīrā, imaged as three-eyed and dark blue, two hands only, 185, 257.

Jangali Tārā, all white, with two or four hands and seated on couch of truth, 184.

— — worshipped in the wilderness, 183.

Kurukullā Devī, or Tārā, crimson, with four hands, 185.

Mahotiari Tārā, similar to Ārya Tārā, 185.

Nīla Sarasvatī Tārā, revered by the Yogachāra sect of Tibet, 182, 258.

Vajra Tārā, chief Mahāyāna goddess, in some parts known as Chandi, 184.

— — figured with eight hands, four faces, each with three eyes, and in the bloom of youth, 184, 258.

Purāṇist goddesses analogues or duplicates of Tārā, 186.

Similar to Kālī, Tārā, Chāmunda and other Hindu Tantric goddesses, 188.

Worship of, tends towards and develops into the Śhaiva Gambhīrā, 183.

Temples (churches, places of worship) :—

Antar-gambhīrā, or Ghora-gambhīrā, inner apartment of temple, 70, 71.

Bāro-yāri Mandapa, temporary temple, 63, 154, 157.

Bhāṇḍāra, store-house of the temple, 36 (note), 37.

Buddhist, 181, 192.

Chandi-Mandapa, 35, 37, 68, 69, 70, 207, 232.

Chāmunda, 187, 207.

Dehārā, altar or temple of Dharma, 68, 224, 225, 226-9.

Dharma, 223.

Eclectic, founded and endowed by Nārāyaṇapāla, 168, 169.

Floral, 243.

Gājan, 48, 49, 60.

Gājan-tālā, place or temple of Gājan, 76, 78.

Gambhīrā, shown to mean a temple of Shiva, 63-72.

Temples (churches, places of worship)—*cont.*—

Gambhīrā-Mandapa, 4, 19, 26, 46, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 88, 110, 112, 136, 247.

Gambhīrā-pandal, front or dancing-house of temple, 18, 53, 54, 55, 62, 200.

— temples in which the same festivities are held under other names, 61, 62.

High-roomed, built by Rājyapāla, 171.

Hindu, noticed by Hiuen Tsiang, 159.

Impartially favoured by Harṣa Vardhana, 151, 153.

Kālī, 80.

Lokeshwara, 258 (note).

Masjid, Mohammodan, 227.

Nīla, 80, 87.

Shiva, decoration and appointments of, 62, 236, 238.

Tārā, 190, 191.

Vasulī, 207.

Vihāras, Buddhist or Jaina monasteries, 158, 153, 169, 173, 178, 182.

Theology, Hindu :—

Ānanto-vaidhāna Kaivalya jñāna, knowledge leading to oneness with God and thus to final emancipation of the soul, 140.

Thread-tying (Rākhi Vandhana), ancient ceremony of friendship, 133, 241 (note).

Tibet: mask-dances performed in, similar to Gambhīrā, 6.

Tirthankaras, demi-gods and pioneers of Jainism, 137.

Tortoise :—

Last support of the earth, 27.

Symbol of the formless Dharma, 100.

Transcendental conceptions popularized in folk-lore, x-xi.

Transformation of Buddhist into Hindu deities, 200-1.

Tree-worship (Gāmra-kāra) :—

A Dharmic ceremony, 240.

Consists in offerings to beautiful and delicate plants in a temple, 240-1.

Worship of Gambhīrā or Gāmra-tree, 133, 240-1.

Trinity (Triratna, Triratna-murti) :—

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheshwara (Hindu), 112, 199.

Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha (Buddhist), 135 (note), 193. #

Trinity (Triratna, Triratna-murti)—

cont.—

Definite forms of, with a female

Dharma, 147, 193.

Evolution of from the Void, 194.

Female Dharma gradually displaced
by male form, Samgha becoming
female, 193.

Installation of at Chariot Festival,
13.

Mahadeva, Lokeshwara and Mahā-
kāla (Tantric Buddhist), 193.

Om, Vedic verbal symbol of, 112, 113,
194.

— adopted by Buddhists, 194.

Rāmāi's Trimurti a mixture of Hindu
and Buddhist deities, 194.

U.

Ulluka (Gibbon of Dharma):—

Born from Dharma, 40 (note), 41.

Conveyance and counsellor of
Dharma, 40 (note), 41, 43 (note).

Holds the Chanda, 108.

Messenger of Yama, 253.

Occasionally appears as Hanumān,
40 (note).

Probably originated from story of
Buddha's monkey incarnation,
40-1 (note).

Worshipped with Dharma, 100.

Ullukai (Bird of Dharma):—

Born from Dharma's breath or ex-
halation, 41 (note), 198, 222.

Gives birth to the goose, 198.

Mentioned by Rāmāi, 258.

Unknown gods, reverence to, 30.

Upanayana, investiture with the sacred
thread, 61.

Urdu, practically a new Indo-Islamic
language, 217.

V.

Vaiṣṇavism:—

A subject for a future work, vii.

Buddhism implicit in, xvi.

Doctrine of a personal god gives
advantage over Buddhism and
Jainism, 23.

Hariṣaṁśa, work written to exalt
Vaiṣṇavism over Śaivism, 244.

Officially encouraged under the Pālas
and Cholas, 162.

Propagated by Chaitanya, 15.

Yoga, Vaiṣṇava processes of, prac-
tised by Shiva's attendants, 249.

Vāna Rāja (King Vana):—

A legendary king of Shonitapura,
244.

Depicted as a golden-bodied devotee
of Shiva, 35.

Looses his two arms in fight with
Kṛiṣṇa, 106, 244.

Pleases Shiva with his wonderful
dancing, though covered with
blood and wounds, 106, 245.

Shiva grants boons of immortality for
himself and for devotees who
should thereafter, like Vāna,
dance wounded and bloody be-
fore the god; also heals his
wounds and makes him a per-
sonal attendant under the name
of Mahākāla, 106, 246-7.

This legend the origin of the fasts
and physical austerities of Shiva-
worship, 107, 247.

Vānaśodā (and see Physical Austeri-
ties):—

An heroic practice, introduced to en-
courage chivalrous ideas, 108.

Bhīṣma's death on a bed of arrows
possibly suggested the idea, 106.

King Vāna's dance before Shiva
origin of name and practice of
Vānaśodā, 106-7, 244-7.

Legend of Harischandra's worship
of Dharma, 107.

Object of, to purchase the favour of
Shiva; health and long life, 107,
247.

Recognized by Rāmāi Pandit, 108.

Worship of the vānas part of Shiva-
worship, 107.

Vande Mātaram, India's greatest mod-
ern folk hymn, 262.

Vedic festivals:—

At harvest-time, precursors of Gam-
bhīrā, 10.

Increasing complexity of, 8, 11.

Vedism:—

Adaptations from, by Mahāyāna
Buddhism, 194.

Attempted revival of in Gauda by
Shura kings, 163-4.

Gods of, fire-gods and other deifica-
tions of natural energies, 253.

Rudra as a divine warrior and phy-
sician, 253.

Vernaculars, Indian:—

Afford new light on national develop-
ment, vii.

Important to all students of compara-
tive mythology and sociology, 25.

Vernaculars, Indian—*cont.*—

- Literature in, powerfully governs social and religious life, 24.
- Parents of, encouraged and protected in Pāla-Chola times, 162.
- Recent research in, vii.
- Translations into from Sanskrit impart local colour to All-India traditions, 24.
- Verse-making competitions (*Saṅger-kīrti*):—
 - An institution in Bengal, 79 (note).
 - Chāpān, Chitren and Javān, charges and rejoinders, 79.
- Vihāras, Buddhist monasteries:—
 - Built by Buddhist kings, 169.
 - Nārāyaṇapāla, a staunch Buddhist, builds temples to Shiva, to be open, however, to Buddhists, 169.
- Vijayā, the Indian Christmas Day, 134.
- Vīṇa (or Nārāyaṇa, the Protector):—
 - A fire-god in Vedic times, 12.
 - Lakṣmī, Goddess of Fortune, his wife, 39.
- Third (or rear) position in the Hindu Trinity, 28, 32.
- Takes precedence of Indra in *Śrīmad-Bhagavata*, and *Nāradaīya* and *Dharma Purāṇa*, 255.
- Void, the:—
 - Dharma springs from, 197-8, 222.
 - Evolution of gods from, 194, 222.
 - Given form by the Mahāyānists, 176.
 - Mahā-shūnya, or Great Void, 176, 197.
 - Meditation on, introduces Tantric worship, 193.
 - Mystery of, 27, 32.
 - Shūnya-vāda, theory of the Void, a link between Buddhism and Hinduism, 145.
 - — the kernel of the Mādhyamika religion, 175-6, 193.

W.

Water:—

- Creation of from the saliva of Dharma, 40.
- Dharma's floating on for fourteen ages, 41.
- Pitcher of representing a god (*ghata*), 49, 51, 52, 76, 91, 96, 197.
- White God, the, 33, 39-40 (note).
- Wine, stolen by Jagannātha, 100, 229.
- Wines in worship:—
 - Four kinds, 9.
 - Indulged in to excess by early votaries, 9.
- Woods, retirement to by ascetics, 144.
- World-Forces, religion of:—
 - Born of folk religion, xvi.
 - Common to Vedists, pre-Confucian Chinese and worshippers of Kāmi, xvi.
 - Gave birth to religion of love and romanticism, xvi.
 - In Vedic age, 262.

Y.

Yoga:—

- Art-magic associated with Tantrism: illustrative feat of a disciple of Atiṣha, 192.
- Chitrālekṣhā, daughter of Kumbhānda, assumes form of Pārvatī by Vaisnava-Ātma Yoga, 249.
- Disciplines of, welded in the Vaisnava and Śaiva schools with belief in and love of God, 23.
- Nymphs, practising Vaisnava Yoga, assume forms of goddesses, 249.

INDEX II.

PROPER NAMES AND LITERARY REFERENCES.

- A.**
- Abhayā, 127.
 Achalodara, 179.
 Achismatti, 11.
 Adama, 218, 224.
Adbhutasthāna, 211.
 Ādi Buddha (First or Primitive Buddha, or Dharma), 40 (note), 94, 95, 147, 176, 218, 221, 225, 231.
 — Dharma Devī, 185.
 — Jina Rishabha, 117.
Ādi Purāṇa, 237.
 Ādi Shiva, 74.
 Ādiahura, 163, 204.
 Āditi, 253, 254.
 Āditya, 253.
 Ādityas (Sun-gods), the twelve, 97.
 Ādyarāja (Dharma), 100.
 Ādyā (first Goddess, Chandikā), 41 (note), 46, 63, 68, 69, 85 (note), 87 (note), 95, 96, 97 (note), 98, 99, 126, 155 (note), 193 (note), 198, 199, 200, 201, 218, 220, 222, 223, 229, 230, 231, 233, 237, 238, 247, 251, 258.
 — Chandī, 258.
 — Chandikā, 231.
 — Devī, 173, 185.
 — Shakti, 222, 254.
 Ādyanātha, 132.
 Africa, 6.
 Āgama, 28.
 Aghoraghanta, Bhairava, 187.
 Agni (Fire-god), 11, 12, 253, 254, 255.
 Ahidin, 228.
Ahnikā-paddhati, 209.
 Airāvata (Indra's elephant), 223, 254.
 Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami, *Ancient India*, 22, 26 (note).
 Ajmere, 161.
 Akashbha, xiii, 146, 177, 181.
 Alakam, 253.
 Ala-ud-din Khilji, 161.
 Ali, 99, 226.
 Allā (God in Islam), 99, 226, 228, 229.
 Allahabad, 13, 131, 156, 157.
 Āmanī, 100.
 Āmarāja, 166.
 Amarāvattī (Tree of Paradise, Mango), 37.
 Ambar, 233 (note).
 America, xiv, 2.
 Amin, 228.
 Amitābha Buddha, 146, 177, 178, 180, 182.
 Amoghasiddhi, 146, 177, 182.
 Amriti, 173.
 Anādyā, 152.
 Andhras, 2, 23.
 Angirā, 11.
 Anilas, the two, 197.
 Aniruddha, 106, 244.
 Apla, 7.
 Apsarās (Nymphs), 122, 248, 251.
 Ardha-chandra (Shiva), 71.
 — Gamrīshwara, 210.
 Aries, 172.
 Arirāja-sudana-shamkara, 208.
Aristanemi Purāṇa, 117, 123, 137 (note), 138 (note), 139 (note), 257.
 Arjuna, 8, 122, 255.
 Ārura Vaidyanātha (Shiva), 47.
 Arya Avalokiteshwara, 180.
 — Tārā, 14, 87 (note), 173, 182, 183, 185, 186, 206 (note).
 Aryans, 129, 253.
 Āryāvarta, 216.
Ārya-Saptashatī, 209.
 Ashwaghosha, 143, 145.
 Ashwasena, 139.
 Asia, 6, 162.
 — Central, 153.
 Asiatic Society of Bengal, xiv, 214 (note).
 Asiatica, 215.
 Asoka, 130, 156 (note), 161.
 Assam, 6, 13, 31, 173 (note), 213.
 Atisha Shrināna (Dipamkara), 172, 189, 190, 191, 192.

Atisni, 48, 49, 50.
 Āṇa Chānd (Chandra), 33, 33-4 (note),
 35, 36.
 — Mahāprabhu, 34 (note).
 Avalokiteshwara (Khasarpana Lokesh-
 wara), 145, 173, 177, 178, 180, 181,
 186, 257, 262.
 Avalon, xiv.
 — *Principles of Tantra*, 188 (note).
 — *Hymns to the Goddess*, 256 (note).
 Āvama, 100.
 Ayodhya, 116.

B.

Bāhā Ishāneshwara (Shiva), 44, 62.
 Babudin Molla, 228.
 Babylon, 7.
 Bacchus, 6, 7, 235 (note).
 Bada Fānisi, 219, 228.
 Baden-Powell, 21.
 Bakhthiyar, 214.
 Bakr-Id, 227.
 Bāpabhāta, 152 (note).
 Bāndha Devi (Tārā), 206 (note).
 Banerji, Prof. Rākhādhā, xii, xiv, xv,
 159 (note).
 — — *History of Bengal*, xiv, 149
 (note), 214.
 — — *Palat of Bengal*, 83 (note), 174
 (note), 214 (note).
 Bāngadārshana, xii.
 Bāngiya Sādhya Parijat Patrika, xiii,
 220 (note).
 Bankimchandra Chatterji, 261, 262.
 Bānkudā Raya (Dharma), 100.
 Bankura, 5.
 Benares, 36, 118, 139, 140, 213, 243.
 Bengal, viii, xii, xiv, xv, 5, 6, 7, 15,
 16, 17, 25, 61, 62, 73, 79 (note), 80,
 98, 120, 127, 128, 140, 141, 149,
 150, 154, 163, 164, 165, 170, 172,
 173 (note), 178, 189, 192, 193, 196,
 202, 203, 204, 206, 208, 211, 212,
 213, 214, 217, 231, 232, 233, 251,
 258, 261.
 — East, 2, 172, 173 (note), 203, 205,
 214, 233.
 — North, viii, 2, 16, 17, 70, 88 (note),
 140, 141, 147, 159, 165, 173 (note),
 214, 248.
 — South, 233.
 — West, viii, 2, 5, 43 (note), 59, 68, 70,
 85 (note), 93, 94, 95, 173 (note),
 214, 248.
 Bengalees, 2, 23.
 Bhadrakālī, 256.

Bhaga, 253.
 Bhagavān, 32.
 Bhāgavata, 9, 116.
 Bhāgavati (Chāndī or Durgā), 39, 84,
 199 (note).
 — Ādyā, 223.
 Bhāgavati Sūtra, 257.
 Bhāgini, 100.
 Bhairava (Buddhist god), 173, 256.
 — (Shiva), 206.
 Bhairavas, the eight, 100.
 Bhairavi, 256.
 Bhaktivinoda, Kedarnāth Datta, 70.
 Bhāndārkar, Sir E. G., *Vaishnavism,
 Shaivism and Minor Religious
 Systems*, xiv, 23 (note).
 Bhānu Bhāskara Rāya (Glorious Sun-
 god?), 31.
 Bhārataṅgi, 12.
 Bhāratachandra, 15.
 Bhārati, Mukunda, 43 (note).
 Bhārgadeva, 195.
 Bhārdwa of Manu, 128.
 Bhāta, Ananda, 204.
 — Aniruddha, 204.
 Bhattachāli, Nalinī Kānta, xii.
 Bhava (Shiva), 246.
 Bhavabhūti, 186.
 Bhavāni (First deity, or entire divine
 energy), 28, 233.
 Bhava-rudreshwara, 50.
 Bhawanipur, 70.
 Bhīma (Shiva), 31.
 — Kādāra (Shiva), 47.
 Bhīlāma (or Bhīlma, one of five brothers
 in the *Mahābhārata*), 84, 106.
 Bhogipāla, 125.
 Bhola, Maheshwara, 5, 47.
 Bholānātha (Shiva), 28.
 Bhṛigu, 10.
 Bhṛikuti, 179, 180.
 Bhṛingi, 36.
 Bhūmigarbha, 191.
 Bhūmisamgha, 191.
 Bhutan, 6, 196 (note), 207.
 Bhuvaneshwara, 213.
 Bihar (or Behar), 165, 173 (note), 178,
 193.
 Bhubham, 5, 62.
 Bodhisattva, 243.
 Bodhisattvas, 146, 176, 177, 257.
 Bodhisattva-Manjushri, 14.
 Bogra, 141.
 Brahmā (or Brahman), 11, 13, 28, 30,
 32, 33, 41, 45, 63 (note), 102, 112, 116,
 144, 145, 176, 177 (note), 199, 222, 223,
 234, 254, 255, 256, 258.
 Brāhmaṇa-sarvasma, 207.

Buddha xi, xvi, 13, 14, 42 (note), 43 (note), 59, 94, 101, 118, 119, 124, 131, 135, 139, 140, 143, 146, 147, 148, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 172, 173, 176, 177, 178, 180, 183, 185, 193, 206 (note), 220, 223, 237, 243, 257.
— Bhāṭṭāraka, 174.
— Shaktis, 176, 177, 188.
Buddhas, 184.
Burdwan, 5, 43 (note), 44, 62, 68, 70, 93, 230.
Burma, 6, 162, 207.
Burmese, 203.
Burns, 17.

C

Calcutta, xv, 17, 25 (note), 33, 63, 79, 80.
— Bangiya Sāhitya Parishat, viii.
— Dawn Society, xii.
— Indian Museum, xii.
Central India, 178.
Ceylon, 6, 35, 37, 54, 146.
Chaitanya, 15, 24 (note), 70, 127.
Chaitanya Bhagavata, 232.
— *Charitāmrita*, 70.
Chākandā, 100.
Chakravarti, Manomohan, xii, 211 (note).
— Narahari, 233.
— Pandit Rajanikānta, xii.
Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 26 (note).
Chāmundā (Chandī), 80, 109, 110, 111, 173, 187, 188, 207, 245, 248, 251, 254.
Chand Vaul, 70.
Chanda (a demon), 251.
— Ramāprasad, xii, 88 (note).
— Sadāgara, 128.
Chandāvatī, 206.
Chandī (Goddess, personifying divine energy in full splendour), 28, 30, 31, 39, 68, 72, 109, 112, 184, 206, 207, 232, 248, 258.
Chandī, of Kavikāmkana, 258.
— of Mānik Datta, 39, 40 (note), 43, 63 (note), 87 (note), 127, 193 (note), 198 (note), 199 (note), 233, 258.
Chandīdāsa, 15, 259.
Chandīkā (Adyā, Gaurī), 69, 143, 223, 254.
— Bhavānī, 233.
Chandīkā, 97.
Chandipura, 206.
Chandra, 107.
Chandra Gupta II, 119, 131.

Chandragupta Maurya, 161.
— the Gupta, 161.
Chandraprabhā, 182.
Chandrashekhara Shiva, 174, 248.
Charaṅgīnātha, 132.
Chatterji, Bankimchandra, 261, 262.
— J. C., *Kashmir Shaivism*, xiv, 23 (note).
Chetlā, 74, 79.
China, xi, xvi, 153, 162, 202, 206 (note), 262.
Chinese, 13, 119, 124, 203.
Chintāmani, 95.
Chitanaya, 70.
Chitrakuta, 118.
Chitrakūṭhā, 248, 249.
Chitramatikā, Queen, 174.
Chola, Rajendra, 160.
Cholana, 182.
Cholaa, 2, 22 (note), 160, 161, 162.
Collegian, xiii, 17.
Collins, 17.
Confucius, xi, xv.
Coomāraswāmy, Dr. A. K., xii.
— *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, 217 (note).
— and Sister Niveditā, *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists*, xv, 253 (note).
Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, 193 (note).
Cupid, 187.

D

Dacca, xii.
— Museum, xii.
— Sāhitya Parishat, viii.
Dakinis, 256.
Dakṣa, 9, 10, 248, 251, 255.
Dāksāyānī (Gaurī), 248.
Dāksipātya, 216.
Dāmara Shāin (or Dāmaraśāin), 100, 258.
Dāmara Tantra, 256.
Dāmodara, 224.
Dānapati, 59, 60, 61, 139, 196.
Dānsāgara, 211.
Dandapāpi, 132.
Daranga, 207.
Darsana, 28.
Dās, Babu Gadādhara, 27 (note).
— Kisorimohan, 32.
— Mahādeva, *Dharma-gītā*, 94, 96.
— Mīchhuāl, 39.
— Rāj Bahadur Sarat Chandra, *Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow*, xii, 180 (note), 191 (note), 192 (note).
Dās, Visnu, 44.
Dāsa, Kācer, 70.

- Dāsa, Kṛiṣṇa, 33 (note).
 — Mahādevya, 222.
 — Śrīdhara, 209.
 — Valarāma, 222.
 — Viṣṇu, 33 (note), 34 (note), 36.
 Dās Gupta, Hemchandra, xiii.
 — J. N., Mukundarām, 127, 233 (note).
 Dātānātha (Shiva), 29.
 Datta, Akṣayakumar, *Religious Sects of India*, 35 (note), 156 (note).
 — Chakrapāni, 172.
 — Kāusena (or Karmasena), 37, 38 (note).
 — Mahāmada, 38 (note).
 — Mānik, 39, 40 (note), 43, 63 (note), 87 (note), 95, 126, 127, 198 (note), 199 (note), 233, 258.
 — Nayanāsena (or Lāsena), 37, 38 (note).
 — Sukha, 120.
 De Visser, M. W., xiv.
 Delhi, 149, 161.
 Devapāla, 166, 167.
 Devasthāna (Abode of Gods), 223.
Devī Purāṇa, 206, 254, 255.
Devīmāhātmyachandī, 199 (note).
 Dhāntalā, 27 (note), 58, 59 (note).
 Dharmaguru Mahāśhaya, 34 (note).
 Dharma, 5, 6, 27, 38 (note), 44, 47, 57 (note), 59, 61, 63, 69, 85 (note), 87 (note), 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 107, 108, 120, 124, 125, 126, 131, 132, 133, 135 (note), 136, 155 (note), 156, 185, 190, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 200, 201, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 229, 230, 236 (note), 237, 238, 239, 240, 241 (note), 258.
 — Adhikāri, 48.
 — Devī (Goddess Dharma), 147, 185, 193.
 — G. 20, 37.
 — Niranjana, 33, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 93, 95, 101, 102, 197, 198, 199, 231, 233, 258.
Dharma-gītā, 94, 95, 96.
Dharma Mahā Saṃgati, 142.
Dharma Mangala (of Ghanarāma), 35 (note), 38 (note), 39 (note), 44, 58, 120, 125, 133, 166, 240 (note), 241 (note), 258.
 — — (of Mānik Gaṅguli), 63 (note), 126, 200, 258.
 — — (of Vāruśiddhi Rāy), 258.
Dharmapāla, 160, 165, 166, 170.
Dharma-pūjā (of Gaṇdeśhwara), 126.
Dharma-pūjā-paddhati, 59 (note), 87 (note), 93, 95, 97, 99, 101, 102, 108, 119, 195 (note), 196, 199 (note), 225, 226, 230, 258.
Dharma Purāṇa, 255.
 Dharmarāja (Dharma), 100.
Dharma Samhitā, 107, 117, 122, 235, 244, 245, 248, 249, 256.
 Dhoyi, 209, 211.
 Dhyāni Buddha, 145.
 — Buddhas, 176, 177.
 — Pārshwanātha, 257.
 — Shiva, 257.
 Digambara (Shiva), 82.
 Dinajpur, 5, 17, 61, 69.
 Dipakalika, 209.
 Dipamkara Śrīrājāna, 172, 189, 190, 192.
 Dravidians, 167 (note).
 Durgā (Chandi, Gauri), 30, 55, 84, 111, 120, 134, 171, 186, 198, 199, 200, 218, 220, 222, 230, 232, 233, 234, 248, 253, 254, 255, 257, 258, 261, 262.
 Dutt, *Economic History of India*, 22 (note).
 Dwārakā, 130, 244.
 Dvārāvātī, 116.

E.

- Eastern India, viii, xv, 26, 150, 159, 160, 161, 164, 167 (note), 170, 178, 189, 201, 204, 213, 213.
 Easterners (Eastern Indians), 162.
 Egypt, 7.
 Elphinstone, 22.
Encyclopædia Indica, xii.
 — of Indo-Aryan Research, xiv.
 England, xiv.
 Europe, 2, 6, 233.
 Europeans, 215.

F.

- Fa Hien, 13, 119, 123, 124, 131, 158, 178, 186.
 Faridpur, 5, 62.
 Fatima, 227.
 Faubell's *Indian Mythology*, 253 (note).
 Fire-god, 8, 9, 10, 21, 33.
 Fire-gods, 11, 12, 253, 254.

G.

- Gambhīra (Shiva), 72.
 Gamgā (wife of Shiva), 30, 38, 43, 46, 71, 178.
 — (a dancer), 212.

Gaṅgādhara (Śhiva), 46, 71.
 Gaṇapati (Ganeśha), 97.
 Gaṇeśha (Success-giver), 29, 45, 97, 200 (note), 220, 224, 236, 241 (note).
 Ganges, 30, 34, 36 (note), 45, 61, 71, 77, 78, 86, 90, 119, 155, 157, 172, 204, 206, 210.
 Gāṅgūlī, Kumudini Kānta, xii.
 — Mānik, 39 (note), 61 (note), 258.
 Gania (or Gaṇas), 138, 240.
 Garuda (King of Birds), 107, 146, 167.
 Gauda, ix, 62, 119, 126, 149, 159, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 172, 174, 189, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 212, 214.
 Gauda-Pundra (Bengal), 163.
 Gauda-vādha, 163.
 Gaudeshwara, 126, 166.
 Gaura Chandra, 34 (note).
 Gaurī (Ādyā, Chandikā), 45, 69, 71, 80, 84, 122, 164, 186, 210, 231, 243, 248, 249, 250, 251.
 Guyā, 166, 178, 193 (note).
 Gāyatrī, 249.
 Gayeshwari, 185.
 Gāzi, 224.
 Getty, Mrs. A., *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, xiv, 245 (note), 176 (note), 177 (note), 181 (note), 257 (note).
 Ghanarāma, 35 (note), 120, 125, 126, 133, 166, 258.
 Ghosh, Prof. Rabindranāth, xii.
Gītāgopānda, 210, 211.
 God (in an impersonal sense), 2, 23, 34 (note), 49 (note), 84, 109, 134, 143, 144, 166, 197, 223, 260.
 Gopāla, 165.
 Gopālanagar, 74.
 Gopipāla, 125.
 Gorakṣanātha, 140.
 Gosāin (Aula Chānd), 34 (note).
 Govardhana, Āchāryya, 209, 211.
 Govindachandra, 69, 125, 140.
 Govindachandra-gīta, 69, 125, 189.
 Gray, 17.
 Greece, 6.
 Grihastha, xii, 17.
 Gujrat, 149, 161.
 Gupta, Yogendranāth, xii.
 Guptas (Kings), 123, 150, 160, 161, 215 (note).
 Chandra Gupta II, the Gupta (Vikramāditya), 119, 131, 161.
 — — Māurya, 161.
 Samudra Gupta, 161.
 Shashānka Narendra Gupta, 149, 150, 159.

Gurjara-Pratihāras, 163 (note), 167 (note).
 Gurjaras, 171.
 Gyātsun, 19.

H.

Hackmann, *Buddhism as a Religion*, 135 (note).
 Hādipā, 69, 189.
 Hāḥanda *Purāṇa*, 96, 98, 225.
 Halāhala Lokeshwara, 257.
 Halāyudha, 207, 208, 209.
 Hama-rāja (King of Geese), 227.
 Hanumān (Monkey-god), 33, 37, 39, 40 (note), 46, 47, 53, 54, 92, 100, 109, 111, 257, 258.
 Hanumanta, 50.
 Hara (Śhiva), 69, 80, 82, 85, 126, 222.
 Hara-Gaurī (Śhiva-Durgā), 53, 55, 231.
 Hara-Pārvatī (Śhiva and his wife), 52, 53.
 Hari (Viṣṇu, Kṛiṣṇa), 45, 121, 126, 220.
 Haridāsa, Brahmā, 199 (note).
 Hari-hari-hari Vāhanodbhava Lokeshwara, 257.
 Harimohana, 15.
 Harischandra (or Harish Chandra), 107, 196, 223, 226.
 Hārith, 258 (note).
 Harivamsa, 106, 116, 122, 130, 244, 255.
 — (Jaina), 123, 137, 139 (note).
 Harsa Deva (Harsa Vardhana), 237, 243.
 Harsa Vardhana, Emperor, 12, 13, 119, 124, 131, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 178, 186, 211, 215, 223.
 Hāsa, Chandra, 107.
 Hasean, 227.
 Havell's *Indian Architecture*, 217 (note).
 Havismati, 11.
 Haya (Havā, or Evil), 225.
 Hayagrīva, 179, 180.
 Heta, 228, 229.
 Himālaya (father of Gaurī), 84.
 Himālayas, 8, 261.
 Hindu Bengal, 261.
 — India, 163, 215.
 Hindua, 3, 28, 31, 34 (note), 80, 124, 113, 128, 129, 134, 141, 146, 152, 165, 169, 172, 178, 196, 209, 211, 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 226, 256.
 Hindusthan, 121, 161, 216.

304 THE FOLK-ELEMENT IN HINDU CULTURE

Hiranyakashipu, 109, 113.
 Huen Tsang, 13, 129, 124, 131, 153,
 154, 156, 159, 175, 178, 183, 186,
 213, 241.
 Hughli, 5, 62, 68, 81.
 Huns, 149, 167 (note), 203.
 Hussain, 227.
 — Shah, 232.

I

Ibâdât-Khanah, 218.
 Indian Ocean, 6.
 Indian Thought Series, xiv, 23.
 Indra (King of Gods), 10, 13, 29, 47,
 82, 121, 123, 137, 138, 146, 167,
 223, 253, 254, 255, 257, 258.
 Ishâna, 209.
 Islam (Mohammedan world, Moham-
 medanism), 99, 100, 161, 215, 216,
 219, 221.
 Iyengar, Principal P. T. Shrinivas, 23.

J

Jagadala, 173.
 Jagaddhâri, 261.
 Jagjivana, 198.
 Jagannâtha, 30, 31, 38, 47, 100, 213,
 229.
 Jagannâtha Pujaya of Mukunda Bhâr-
 ati, 43 (note), 193 (note), 198 (note).
 Jâhnavi, 261.
 Jaipur, 233 (note).
 Jajapura, 225, 227.
 Jamâri, 181, 182.
 Janaka (Strâ), 132.
 Janâshri, Achâryya, 190, 191.
 Jangal Târâ, 182, 183.
 Japan, xi, xvi, 26, 163, 233, 262.
 Jahoreshwari, 233.
 Jâka, 40 (note).
 Jaunpur, 218.
 Javs, 162.
 Jayâ, 198, 222, 249.
 Jayâdeva, 15, 210, 211.
 Jayanta, 163.
 Jessore, 62, 233.
 Jethimuni, 165.
 Jhâ, Dr. Gangânâth, 23 (note).
 Jimutavâhana, 152 (note), 186.
 Jina Deva (First Jina), 118, 137, 138,
 140.
 Jinas, 138, 230, 241.
 Jindendra, 138.
 Jñâna Samhitâ, 117, 122, 238, 239,
 240, 256.

*Journal of the Asiatic Society of
 Bengal*, xii, 93 (note), 211 (note).
 — *of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xii,
 95 (note), 143 (note), 178 (note).
 Jumna, 157, 261.
 Jwâlmukhi, 213.

K

Kailâsa Mountain, 46, 71, 137, 138,
 210, 248, 254.
 Kâla (Divine Blacksmith or Potter), 28,
 32.
 — Bhairava, 256.
 Kâlâchândra (Dharma), 100, 101.
 Kâleswara, 43 (note).
 Kâlî (War Goddess), xiii, 56, 63, 80,
 83, 92, 109, 110, 111, 144, 166,
 188, 206 (note), 207, 232, 233, 244,
 245, 248, 253, 254, 255, 259.
 Kâlî Songs, 259.
 Kâlîdâsa, 209.
 Kalighât, 53, 65, 79, 80, 248.
 Kâlîkâ, 100, 109.
 Kâlîd Purnâ, 254, 255.
 Kâlîndî, 138 (note).
 Kalpataru, 166.
 Kâlû Râya (Dharma), 100.
 Kâma, 147.
 Kâma-Sâsttras, 114.
 Kâmadeva (God of Love), 100, 198,
 199.
 Kâmakhyâ (Chandi), 28, 31.
 Kâmandakî, 187.
 Kâmarûpa, 31, 213.
 Kâmbôjas (Mongols), 171.
 Kâminyâ, 97.
 Kamsa, King, 116.
 Kanakamuni, 177.
 Kanauj, 13, 119, 124, 154, 155, 156, 157,
 161, 163, 164, 167 (note), 171, 186,
 203, 204.
 Kânîska, Kushan Emperor, 143.
 Kânyakubya (Kanauj), 154, 156.
 Kapâla Kendalâ, 187.
 Kapilâ (Divine Cow), 28, 29, 37.
 Karâlî, 253, 254.
 Kârikâ, 166, 167.
 Karna, Kavi, 71.
 Kârtika (or Kârtikeya, God of War),
 29, 45, 55, 109, 111, 179, 200 (note),
 225.
 Kâshi (Benares), 36, 243.
 Kâshî-Khanda, 243.
 Kashipu (Hiranyakashipu), 113.
 Kâshîahwara (Shiva), 36.
 Kashmir, xiv, 143, 186.
 Kashmiris, 2, 23.

Kaashyapa (Indra), 82, 177.
 Kāśimpur, 39.
 Kātyāyana (Pārvasī), 83.
 Kavīkankana (Makundarāma), 126, 127.
 Kavirāja (King of Poets: Dhoyī), 210 (note).
 Kena *Upanisad*, 253.
 Keshava Sena, 214.
 Khasarpaga Lokeshwara (Avalokiteshwara), 178, 180, 181, 192, 257.
 Kheṭtrāma (Dharma), 100.
 Khila *Harivamsha*, 245.
 Khodā (God in Islam), 100, 119, 224, 227, 228, 229.
 Khonakāra, 99, 226, 227, 228.
 Khulna, 62.
 Kinnaras, 121, 132.
 Kochas, 38, 65, 82, 88.
 Korāp, 228.
 Krakochhanda, 177.
 Kratu (God of Sacrifice), 12.
 Kratothali, 249.
 Kriṣṇa (Viṣṇu), xv, 84, 89, 105, 116, 121, 130, 255, 259.
 — Chandra, 34 (note).
 Krittivāsa, 24.
 Kṣemarāja, 23.
 Kṣetrapāla, 100.
 Kudmun, 44, 62, 70.
 Kumārā (Kārtikeya), 179.
 — Deva, 13, 223.
 Kumaun, 214.
 Kumbhānda, 248, 249.
 Kunāla, 123.
 Kunjikaṣṭhali, 249.
 Kurma (Tortoise of Dharma), 43 (note), 222.
 Kuruksetra, 8.
 Kurukulā Devī, 185.
 Kushana, 167 (note).
 Kutub, 225, 229.
 Kutubdin, 228.
 Kuvalayavati, 209.
 Kurera, 83, 251.
 Kṛṣṇikā Tantra, 206 (note).

L.

Laghavirīthi, 209.
 Lahiri, Kumudrātib, xii, 17.
 Lahore, 161.
 Lakṣmana, 40, 55, 109, 118, 257.
 — Sena, 205, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214.
 Lakṣmanavāti, 208.
 Lakṣmī (Goddess of Fortune, or Wealth), 29, 30, 38, 253, 255, 257, 261.
 Lakṣmīkānta, 33 (note).
 Lalgiri, 28.
 Lalitāditya, 186.
 Lalita Vistara, 118, 123.
 Lanka (Ceylon), 37, 111.
 Langland, 17.
 Lāsena (Kausena?), 38 (note), 196 (note).
 Law, Narandranāth, xii.
 — — *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule*, 217.
 Libra, 172.
 Linga Purāṇa, 253.
 Lochabha, 191.
 Lochanā, 177, 182.
 Lokanātha Buddha, 257.
 Lokeshwara, 165, 169, 171, 173, 178, 180, 181, 182, 192, 193, 257.
 London, Folklore Society of, ix.
 Lumvini, 118.

M.

Macdonell, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, 253 (note).
 Madana (God of Love), 242.
 Madanapāla, 174.
 Mādhai, 100.
 Mādhava (Kṛṣṇa, sometimes Shiva), 84, 85.
 — (character in *Mādhavi-Mādhava*), 187.
 Mādhava Sena, 214.
 Mādhavachārya, 210.
 Mādhusūtaśāstravādha-prakaraṇa, 109 (note).
 Mādhyamikas, 144, 145.
 Mādhusūchihandā Rasi, 121.
 Magadha (Behar), 149, 163, 165, 207.
 Mahābhārata, 8, 84, 106, 116, 121, 122, 129, 137, 174, 254.
 Mahābodhi Tree, 166, 193 (note).
 Mahādeva (Shiva), 28, 29, 132, 138, 140, 147, 166, 181, 203, 204, 210, 234, 243, 247, 246, 247, 249.
 — (father of Aśta Chānd), 33 (note), 71, 193, 194.
 Mahākāla, 7, 36, 171, 193, 225, 247, 256, 258.
 Mahāmātī, 11.
 Mahāmāyā (Creative Power of God, hence Bhagavatī or Durgā), 84.
 Mahāprabhu (Buddha), 94.
 — (Chaitanya), 34 (note).
 Mahārāstra, 216.
 Mahā Shunya (Great Void), 176.
 Mahatī, 253.
 Mahāvira, 138 (note), 139.

- Maheshwara (or Mahesha, Shiva), 32,
 70, 112, 144, 145, 146, 151, 165, 169,
 170, 199, 200, 218, 222, 223, 231, 258.
 Mahipala, 125.
 Mahipala, *Lays of*, 189.
 Mahipala I, 171, 172, 174.
 Mahotari Tard, 185, 257.
 Maine, 22.
 Maitreya, 257.
 Maitra, Akshay Kumar, xii.
 Mahati, 187, 188.
 Malati Madhara, 242.
 Makda, ix, 3, 15, 16, 17, 18, 27 (note),
 32, 39, 41 (note), 56, 59, 61, 62, 65,
 68, 69, 73, 79, 80, 82, 128, 141,
 173, 206, 243, 248.
 — District Council of National Educa-
 tion, viii, xiii, 25 (note).
 Mallik, Durishba, *Lays of Govinda*
Chandra, 123.
 Māli Songs, 259.
 Malwa, 149, 161.
 Mālyavati, 152 (note), 186.
 Mīmāṃsā, 177, 182.
 Manudā Sāin, or Sāi (Mohammed), 99,
 226.
 — Sāis (Mussalmāns), 227.
 Mān Singh, 233 (note).
 Manasā (Mother of Serpents), 100, 128,
 218, 258.
 Manasā, *Lays of*, 193 (note), 258.
 Mānāli, xii.
 Mandāra, 206.
 Mangala-Chandī, Mother (Domestic
 Goddess), 100, 127, 218, 228.
 Mangala Chandī of Kavikamkana, 126,
 127, 128.
 — — of Mānik Datta, 95, 126, 127,
 128, 198 (note), 199 (note).
 Mangala-Gau., 243.
 Mani, 100.
 Mānikāchandra, *Lays of*, 189.
 Manjushrī Buddhi, 145, 146, 178, 181,
 182, 257.
 Manojavā, 253.
 Mann, *Code of*, 208.
 Māra, 147.
 Marathas, 2, 121.
 Marett, Prof. R. R., *Pohlore and Psy-*
chology, ix.
 Mārkaṇḍeya Chandī, 97.
 — *Purdna*, 199 (note), 254.
 Mashān Chāmunda Kālī, 89.
 — Kālī, 90.
 Mātanga, 100.
 Mātrikās, 184.
 Matya-Sukta, 208.
 Mauryas, 160.
 Mayanā, 120, 241 (note).
 Mayurbhanj, 181, 182 (note), 185.
 Mecca, 216.
 Meghaduta, 209.
Memoir of the Asiatic Society of Ben-
gal, xiv.
 Menakā (Mother of Pārvatī), 83, 249.
 Meru (Pamir), 182.
 — Devil, 137.
 Midnapore, 5, 62.
 Milton, *Comus*, 6-7 (note).
Mimamsa-Sarvasva, 208.
 Minanātha, 132.
 Mishra, Gurava, 167.
 — Hari, 166.
 — Kedāra, 167.
 Mitra (Sun-god), 10, 253.
 — Baradācharana, 16.
 — Dr. Rajendralal, xii.
Modern World, xii.
 Moghul, the Great, 211, 216, 233.
 Moghula, 217, 218.
 Mohammed, 224, 227, 228, 229.
 Mohammedans, 7, 34 (note), 134, 213,
 214, 217, 219, 224, 228, 229.
 Mokdumpur, ix.
 Mongola, 83 (note), 167 (note), 203, 260.
 Mookerji, Dr. Radhakumud, xii.
 Moon, 37.
 Moon-god, 167, 225.
 Moorahidabad, 5, 61, 62.
Mother India, Tagore's, 260-1.
 Mrityunjaya (Shiva), 49.
 Muhammad Ghori, 161.
 Mukhen, 190.
 Mukerjee, Prof. Rādhākamal, xii.
 Mukundarāma (Kavikamkana), 127, 258,
 259.
Mukundanīm, by Dās Gupta, 127,
 233 (note).
 Müller, Max, *Ramakrishna: His Life*
and Teachings, 262.
 Munda (a demon), 251.
Mundaka Upanisad, 253.
Muni Suvrata Purāna, 118, 123.
 Murray, 217, note.
 Mussalmāns, 161, 216, 217, 227.
 Muttra, 178.

N.

- Nābhi, 137.
 Nadia, 5, 34 (note), 62, 87, 248.
Nāgānanda, 152 (note), 186.
 Nāgachō, 191, 192.
 Nāgarjuna, 143, 144.
Nakulisha Tantra, 256.
 Nālandā, 178, 183.

Nanda, 116.
 Nandi, 36, 243, 245, 248, 249, 250.
 — Sandhyakara, 167.
 Napoleons, Indian, 161.
 Nārada (Sage and Singer of the Gods),
 122, 223, 225, 258.
Nāradya Purāṇa, 255.
 Narasimha (Viṣṇu as man-lion), 109,
 110, 112, 113.
 — (properly Narasimhi, Chandi), 112,
 113, 245.
 Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), 21, 29, 166, 220.
Nārāyaṇa, xiv.
 Nārāyaṇapāla, 167, 168, 169, 170.
Narottama Vildsa, 233.
 Natarāja (Shiva), 123, 248.
 Nationalist School of Indian Art, xv.
 Navadvipa (Nadia), 87.
 Neminātha, 140.
 Nayapāla, 172.
 Nepal, 162, 185, 207.
 Nihamska-Shamkara-Gauteshwara,
 205.
 Nila (Shiva), 80, 87.
 — Sarawati Tārā Devī, 182, 258.
 Nilāi, 189.
 Nilāpāva, 100.
 Nilakanthāchāryya Lokeshwara, 257.
 Nilānjālā, 123, 137.
 Nilāvati, 75, 87.
 Nirānjana (Dharma), 33, 39, 40, 41, 42,
 43, 93, 95, 101, 102, 194, 195, 197,
 198, 199, 218, 220, 222, 224, 228, 258.
 Nishumbha, 251.
 Nitāi, 38.
Niti-Shāstras, 114.
 Niveditā, Sister, *Kali the Mother*, 188
 (note).
 — — and Dr. Coomāraswāmy, *Myths
 of the Hindus and Buddhists*,
 xv, 253 (note).
 Niyatāgni (Permanēt Fire), 12.
 North Bengal Literary Conference, 16,
 17.
 Northern India, 13, 149, 157, 163, 170,
 216, 217.
 North-Western India, 203, 213.
 Nitya-priya (Shiva), 123.
 Nura (Light), 225.

O.

Ocean-god, 166, 167.
 Om (Hindu Trinity), 112, 113, 194, 195.
 Orissa, 5, 6, 30, 61, 62, 71, 91, 92, 173
 (note), 207, 213, 231.
 Ostrich, 7.
Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, xiv.

P.

Pabna, 5.
 Padma, 122, 184, 249.
Padma, Lays of, 128.
Padma Purāṇa, 117, 206, 255, 257.
 Padmanāreahwara Lokeshwara, 257.
 Padmī-pāṇi, 146.
 — Avalokiteshwara, 177.
 Padmāvati, 225.
 Pālas (Kings), xiv, 131, 160, 161, 162,
 163 (note), 166, 167, 169, 170, 171,
 173, 174, 193, 200, 202, 203, 212,
 218.
 Devapāla, 166, 167.
 Dharmapāla, 160, 165, 166, 170.
 Gopāla, 165.
 Madanapāla, 174.
 Mahtpāla I, 171, 172, 174.
 Nārāyaṇapāla, 167, 168, 169, 170.
 Rājyapāla, 171.
 Rāmapāla, 173.
 Vīgrahapāla (Shurapāla), 167.
 Pālī, Mr. Haridāsa, viii, ix, x, xv.
 — — *Adyer Gambhīra*, ix, 25 (note),
 217.
 Pamir, 182.
 Pāṇcha-chudā, 122.
 Pāṇchajanya, 12.
 Pāṇchavāsinī, 48.
 Pāṇḍarā, 177, 182.
 Pāṇḍavas, the five, 8.
 Pandit, Mr. Naliniranjan, xii.
Pandit Sarvasena, 208.
 Pāṇini, 209.
 Paradise, 37, 38, 47.
 Parāma Saurā Māhārājadhīrāja-
 Ghāṭuka-Shamkara Gauteshwara,
 214.
 Parāma-Vaisnava (Lakṣmaṇa Sena),
 208.
 Parāshura, 211.
 Parganas, the twenty-four, 5, 74, 79.
 Parjāta (Flower of Paradise), 38.
 Pārāshvanātha, 118, 139, 140, 257.
 Pārvaṭī, 8, 14, 82, 83, 84, 85, 111, 112,
 168 (note), 231, 249, 250.
 Pashupati (Shiva), 8, 168, 170, 223,
 240.
 — (author), 209.
Pashupati-badīhati, 209.
 Pāṭhā (Neiber Regions), 42, 47.
 — Chandi, 206.
 — Devī, 206.
 Pātāliputra (Patna), 119, 124, 131, 215
 (note).
 Pathans, 217, 218.
 Patna, 119.

Pavana (Wind-god), 35, 197.
Paumaduta, 209.
 Paygambara (Prophet, Mohammed), 224, 228.
 Paygambara, 219.
 Persin, 197.
 Phakir (Aula Chând), 34 (note).
 Phandhuṣana (Pāṣhvanātha, also Shiva), 239.
 — Lokeshwara, 165.
Pichchhild Tantra, 258 (note).
 Pindāraka, 116, 122, 130.
 Pir Paygambara (Mohammed), 229.
 Pithas, the fifty-one, 206.
 Polihā, 88.
 Potalaka, 179.
 Prabhakara, Vardhana, 152.
 Prachandā, 206.
 Prajñā-pāramitā, 185, 221.
 Pramathas, 9.
 Pramnochī, 249.
 Prashāntāgni (Setting Sun or Pacified Fire), 12.
 Pratāpāditya, 233.
Pratikā, xii.
Prātimokṣa, 136.
Pravāsi, xii, 220 (note).
 Prayāga (Allahabad), 231, 236, 257.
 Pretas, 191 (note).
Priyadarśikā, 152 (note).
 Pundra Vardhana, ix, 159, 206.
 Pundras, 140, 142, 159.
 Panjab, 121.
 Punjabis, 7, 23, 203.
Purāṇas (Hindu), 15, 28, 38, 112, 116-8, 121, 123, 137, 208, 248, 251, 253, 256, 259.
Purāṇas (Jaina), 117-8, 123, 137, 256.
 Puri (Purusottama), 30, 34 (note), 229.
 Purna Chandra, 33 (note).
 Puruṣottama Deva, 209.
 Purvapāra, 49.
 Puṣā, 253.
 Puspapāni (Shiva), 49.
 Pūyabhati Vardhana, 151.

R

Rabindranāth Tāgore, 260, 261.
 Rādha, viii, 2, 5, 41 (note), 68, 70, 120, 127, 149, 207, 248.
 Rādhi (Goddess), 259.
 Rādhānagar, 32.
 Rāghava, 127.
 Raghu, 127.
 Rai, Binod Behāri, xii.
 Raivataka, 130.

Rājagriha, 142.
 Rājendra Chola, 160.
 Rajput States, 161.
 Rajputana, 231 (note).
 Rajputs, 2, 23.
 Rajshahi, xii, 5, 61, 203 (note).
 Rājyapāla, 171.
 Rakshit, Hemendra Kishor, xiii.
 Raktamiti, 159.
 Rāma, 35, 45, 53, 55, 99, 107, 109, 118, 129, 256, 257, 259.
 Rāma-Charita, 67.
 Rāmāi Pandit, 6, 41 (note), 60, 96, 97, 98, 107, 108, 119, 131, 132, 133, 145, 158, 159, 189, 190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 229, 230, 258.
 Rāmākṛiṣṇa-Vivekānanda, 262.
 Rāmapāla, 173.
 Rāmaprasāda, 15, 259.
 Rāmāvatī, 173, 174.
Rāndyama, Krittivasa's, 259.
 — Vālmiki's, 8, 54, 111, 116, 121, 129, 137, 254, 256.
 Rampur Baulia, 203 (note).
 Rangpur, 5, 61, 69.
 — Sāhitya Parishat, vii.
Rangpur Sāhitya Parishat Patriād, xiii.
 Rānjāvatī (wife of Kāmasena Datta), 38 (note).
 Ratnapāgi, 177.
 Ratnasambhava, 146, 177, 182.
Ratnadraṣi, 152 (note).
 Rāvana, 8, 92, 139.
 Ray, Chānd, 233.
 — Kēdāra, 233.
 — Yātrāsiddhi, 258.
 Ribhu, 10.
Rig Veda, 121, 198 (note), 253.
 Rishabha Deva, 117, 123, 137, 138, 257.
 Rishi, 132, 235.
 Roy, Dwijendralāl, 261.
 Rudra, 48, 122, 130, 249, 253, 254.
Rudra Yāmala, 206 (note).

S

Sadda Shiva, 33, 48.
 Sādha, 15.
Sādhana-kalpālā, 193 (note).
Sādhana-mālā Tantra, 178, 180, 181, 184, 185, 193 (note), 257.
Sādhana Samuchchaya Tantra, 184, 193 (note), 257, 258.
 Sahajanya, 249.
 Sāhāpur, 15.
 Sahaardyanana, 168.

Sahidin, 228.
Sāhitya, xii.
 Sāin (Āula Chānd), 34 (note).
 Sakas, 167 (note).
 Sakhi Moranga, 207.
Sāma Veda, 11.
 Saṁgha, 135 (note), 147, 193, 194.
 Samantrabhadra, 177.
Samhitās (Codes of Law, Conduct, etc.), 107, 117, 122-3, 256, 259.
Saṁskṛān, xiii.
Samskṛta-paddhati, 209.
 Samudragupta, 161.
 Saṁātana, 165.
Saṁatānandā Samhitā, 117, 242, 256.
 Sāṅkhya, 23.
 Saṁthala, 53.
 Sāntipur (or Shāntipur), 87, 248.
Sāradā-Tilaka, 188.
 Sarasvatī (Goddess of Knowledge), 28, 29, 36, 46, 253, 254, 255, 257, 261.
 — Tārā, 182.
 Saukar, Benoy Kumar, xiii.
 — — *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*, xv, 141 (note), 160 (note), 167 (note), 174 (note), 177, 203 (note), 211 (note), 215.
Sarva Darśhana, 175.
 Saurāstrians, 167.
 Sāstri, H. P., xii, xiv, 93 (note).
 — Introduction to Vasu's *Modern Buddhism*, 145 (note).
 — Vidhu Sekhar, xii, 95 (note), 143 (note).
 Satī, 251, 255.
 Satya Pira, 220.
 Saudāminī, 188.
 Sāvatri, 249.
 Savjibāgūn, 79.
 Sāyana, 254.
 Sāyanāchārya, 216.
 Scorpio, 172.
 Sen, Mr. Dineschandra, xii, 25 (note).
 — — *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, xii, 25 (note), 93 (note), 217.
 Sena (Kings), 173 (note), 203, 211, 212, 214 (note), 218.
 Gandharva Sena, 118.
 Kothava Sena, 214.
 Lakṣmana Sena, 205, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214.
 Mādhava Sena, 214.
 Vallāha Sena, 204, 205, 206, 207, 210, 211.
 Vijaya Sena, 203, 204, 211.
 Viśhvarupa Sena, 214.

Setāi, 189.
 Seth, Rādhesh Chandra, xii.
Shakra-Sarasvata, 208.
 Shakra (Indra), 82.
 Shakti (Pārvatī, Divine Energy), 7, 12, 91, 112, 172, 194, 206, 231, 232, 233, 253, 256, 256.
 Shakti, 146, 165, 176, 177, 185, 188.
Shaktitāṁgama Tantra, 206 (note).
 Shākyamuni, 177.
Shākyasimha (Buddha), 118, 123, 135, 141, 142.
 Shāṅkara (Śhiva), 178, 205, 208, 244.
 Shani (Saturn), 254.
 Shanyu-Agni, 11.
 Sharana, 210.
 Sharqin, Sultan Husain, 218.
 Shashāṁka (Narendra Gupta), 149, 150, 159.
Shāstras, 24, 52, 114, 231, 235.
 Shatakratu (Indra), 121.
Shākā Shubhodayā, 204, 212, 213.
Shāilpa-Sāstras, 16, 109, 114.
 Shitalā, 258.
Shitalā Maṅgala, 258.
 Shiva, xii, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 14, 18, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 61, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 101, 102, 106, 107, 108, 109, 112, 117, 120, 122, 123, 125, 130, 131, 134, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141, 151, 155 (note), 156, 157, 158, 165, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 177 (note), 178, 186, 187, 194, 199, 200, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 210, 213, 218, 220, 222, 223, 224, 225, 230, 231, 232, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 261.
 Shiva Bhattachāra, 168.
 Shiva-Durgā, 36.
 Shiva-kunda, 237.
 Shiva-Pārvatī, 111.
Shiva Purāṇa, 116, 240, 245, 255, 256.
Shiva-Saṁhitā, 72, 248.
Shiva-tatra-Vimarsinī, 23.
 Shiva Vandana, 34 (note).
Shivgitā, 82.
 Shivāgnī, 9, 12.
 Shivaloka, 9.
 Shivanātha (Śhiva), 27, 28, 29, 40, 54.
Shivaratnā, 4.
Shivdyana, 82.
 Shonitapura, 106, 244.

- Shrijñāna (Dipamkara, Atisha), 189, 190, 192.
Shrimad Bhagavata, 254, 255.
 Shubhasthali, 166.
 Shulapāni, 209, 224.
 Shumbhā, 251.
 Shunya (Void), 42, 95, 101, 145, 176, 193, 194, 196, 197, 218, 221, 229.
Shunya Purāna of Rāmāi Pandit, 6, 35 (note), 36 (note), 39 (note), 40 (note), 41 (note), 42 (note), 43 (note), 44 (note), 49 (note), 57 (note), 59, 60, 93, 95 (note), 107, 119, 124, 125, 132, 145, 170, 189, 190, 193, 194, 195, 196, 200, 221, 222, 223, 224, 236 (note), 240 (note), 241 (note), 258.
 Shurapāla, 167.
 Shuras, 163, 165.
Śvetāshvara Upaniṣad, 145.
 Niddhadeva (Perfect God), 195.
 Niddhi-Agni, 12.
 Sikh Mitha, 210.
 Sikhi, 177.
 Singā, 132.
 Simhagiri, 204 (note).
 Simhanāda Lokeshwara, 257.
 Simvāli, 253.
 Shā, 35, 46, 132, 253, 254, 256, 259.
Skanda Purāna, 117, 256, 258 (note).
 Smith, Vincent, *Asoka*, 125.
 — — *Early History of India*, xii, xiv, 149 (note), 163 (note), 214 (note).
 Southern India, 160, 216, 217.
 Southern (Southern Indians), 23, 162, 203.
 Sphulingini, 253.
 Stevenson, Mrs., *Heart of Jainism*, 117 (note), 138 (note), 141 (note), 256 (note).
 Styx, 59 (note), 196.
 Subhadra, 236.
 Sudhanvā Kumāra, 179, 180, 181, 182.
 Sudhumravarnā, 253.
Sakti-karandimrita, 209.
 Sulchitā, 253.
 Sumukha, King, 117.
 Sun, 31, 37, 46, 157, 158, 194.
 Sun-god, 10, 14, 31, 33, 97, 98, 131, 151, 225.
 Sun-gods, 97.
 Sunandā, 236.
 Surya-prabhā, 182.
 Suryya (Sun), 10, 107, 131, 151, 203.
 Sutayoni, 32.
 Sutrātmā, 11.
Sucatanaprabha, 257.
 Suvrata, 123.
 Swarupa-nārāyaṇa (Dharma), 100, 132.
Swatantra Tantra, 182, 185, 257.
 T.
Takult-i-Nasiri, 214.
 Tāgore, Rabindranāth, 260, 261.
 Tāliganj, 74, 79.
 Tanira, 42 (note).
Tantras, 207, 208, 256, 259.
Tantrasāra, 206.
Tantravibhūti, 128.
 Tārā, 11, 144, 146, 165, 169, 171, 172, 173, 177, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 190, 191, 203, 205, 257, 258, 259, 262.
 Tārā, 186, 262.
 Tārā Bodhisattva, 183.
 Devi, 206 (note), 257.
 Tārakeshwar, 80.
 Tārakeshwara Shiva, 81.
 Tartara, 167 (note).
 Tathāgata (Buddha), 148 (note).
 Taurus, 172.
 Thākardēvi, 228.
 Thākur (Aula Chānd), 34 (note).
 Thākuras (Gods), 50.
 Thaneewar, 149.
 Thibaut, Dr., 23 (note).
 Tibet, 6, 162, 172, 182, 190, 191, 202.
 Tirthamkara, 117, 136, 137, 138, 139, 256, 257.
 Trailokya-Sondari (Durgā), 234.
 Tridiva (Heaven), 60.
Tridandashera, 209.
 Trimurti (Three Figures, Trinity), 192, 194.
 Tripura, 43, 46.
 Tripurari (Shiva), 43, 46.
 Triratna (Three Jewels, Trinity), 133, 147, 193.
 Trailokya-bhayamkara Lokeshwara, 257.
 Tukārāma, 24.
 Tulasi (Holy Basil), 46.
 Tulidāsa, 24.
 U.
 Uchchaisravā (Mythical Horse), 29.
Uddishā Tantra, 256.
 Ugradanta, 100.
 Ula, 33 (note).
 Ulluka (Gibbon of Dharma), 28, 40 (note), 41, 100, 108, 236 (note), 253.
 Ullukai (Bird of Dharma, also called Ulluka), 41 (note), 108, 227, 258.

Umā, 253, 254, 255.
Umāpati (or Umāpatidhara), 204, 210.
United Provinces, 121.
Upapurāṇas, 254.
Upper India, 151, 161, 186.
Urdhva, 36.
Urvashi, 249.
Usā, 106, 244.
Usatpur, 120.
Utkala, 207.

V.

Vābhraṇī-Kāya (Shiva-Ādya), 231.
Vadārikā, 255.
Vadāsāhi, 185.
Vāgisha, Āgama, 206.
Vahutī Vahu Pare, 50.
Vaikuntha, 256.
Vairochana, 146, 177, 182.
Vaiṣṇava-Saṁgraha, 208.
— *Puṭṭicall*, 259.
Vaitaraṇī, 59, 90, 196, 197.
Vajra Tārā, 182, 184, 190, 191, 206, 258.
Vajradhātuvishvārī, 177.
Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva, 146, 177.
Vajrasana, 190.
Vākpati, 163.
Valāi (Valārāma), 84.
Valārāma, 255.
Vālī, 129.
Validdācharita, 204.
Vallāha Sena, 204, 205, 206, 207, 210, 211.
Valluka Sea (or River), 48, 198, 199.
Vālmīki, 254.
Vāmā Devī, 139.
Vāṇa Rāja, 4, 35, 106, 107, 122, 241, 245, 246, 247.
Vānarāṇa, 248.
Vaṇde Mātaram, 262.
Vāṅgā, 65, 88, 89.
Vardha Purāṇa, 256.
Vardhanas (Kings), 131, 150, 151, 160, 161, 218.
Harṣa Vardhana, 17, 13, 119, 124, 131, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 178, 186, 211, 215, 223, 237, 243.
Prabhākara Vardhana, 151.
Puṣya bhūti Vardhana, 151.
Rājya Varidhana (brother of Harṣa), 149, 151.
Rājya bhūti (sister of Harṣa), 151.
Varendra, viii, 68, 70, 88, 147, 165, 207, 209 (note).
— Research Society, xii, 203 (note).

Varind (Varendra), 65.
Varmā, Ravi (Artist), 65.
Varman, Nārāyaṇa (General), 166.
Varmanas (Kings), 173 (note), 203.
Bhāskara Varmā (Kumāradeva), 13.
Shyāmala Varmā, 203.
Vārui (Family of), 120.
Varuṇa, 10, 253.
Vasanta, 142.
Vashishta, 206.
Vāta-Shāstras, 114.
Vasu, Mr. Nagendranāth, xii, 170.
— — *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, 94 (note), 181, 182 (note).
— — *History of Bengal Castes*, 164.
— — *Modern Buddhism*, 93 (note), 145 (note).
— — *Vishvaakṣa*, 25 (note).
Vāsudeva, 117, 255.
Vāsuki (King of Serpents), 43, 45, 47, 100, 196 (note), 198, 222.
Vāsullī, 60, 109, 110, 207, 248.
Vasumatī (Earth), 37, 42, 198.
Vatagrāma, 128.
Vateshwara Swāmin, 174.
Vatīsini, 48.
Vāṭat, Laws of, 195 (note).
Vāyaviya Saṁhitā, 117, 238, 240, 242, 256.
Vāyu (Wind-god), 253, 254.
Vedas, 8, 12, 28, 207, 208, 231, 241 (note), 259.
Pedic Magasin, xiii.
Vehula, 128.
Vesta (Paradise), 224.
Vibhadra, 236.
Vidyāpati, 259.
Vidyutprabha, 212.
Vigrahapāla (Shurapāla), 167.
Vijayā (Goddess), 249.
— Sena, 203, 204, 211.
Vijayanagara, 216.
Vijayapur, 93.
Vijayapura, 203, 210.
Vikramāditya, 119, 161, 215.
Vikramashilā, 165, 172, 190.
Vikrampura, 172, 205, 214.
Vinandā, 216.
Vināyaka (Ganesha), 200, 249.
Vindhya Hills, 187, 216.
Vipashyi, 177.
Vipradhā, 128.
Virabhadra, 256.
Virāta, 11, 122.
Virvyachandra, 191.
Viśadā, Vīvi (or Bībī), 100, 228.
Viśahari (Manāṭā, Goddess of Snakes), 15, 128.

Vijahari, *Lays of*, 15, 198 (note), 199
note (258).

Viali, 206.

Vishwabhu, 177.

Vishwakarmā, 83.

Vishvakosa, 25 (note).

Vishwambhara (Shiva), 232.

Vishwāmītra, 121.

Vishwanātha (Shiva), 84.

Vishwapāni, 177.

Vishwarupa Sena, 214.

Vishwarupini, 253.

Vishweshwara (Shiva), 29.

Visnu, xv, 12, 21, 28, 29, 32, 45, 84, 89,
112, 132, 144, 146, 150 (note), 166,
167, 176, 177 (note), 199, 203, 208,
220, 222, 224, 234, 255, 258.

— *Bhāl Aula* (*Aula Chāndi*), 34 (note),
36.

Visnu Purāna, 116.

Void, The, 27, 32, 42, 95, 101, 144, 145,
147, 175, 176, 193, 197, 198, 220, 221.

Vriiddhināga (Dharma), 100.

Vrikhanulla Tantra, 206.

Vrihaspati, 11.

Vrinabha-dhvaja (Shiva), 239.

Vrinabha Shankara Gaudeshwara, 203,
204.

Vodā Rāya (Dharma), 100.

W.

Waddell, Dr., xii.

— *Indian Buddhist Cult of Anulohita*,
etc., 178 (note).

Western India, 161, 207.

Westerners, 207.

Wind-god, 35, 197, 254.

Y.

Yadu (Family of), 122.

Yakasa, 231.

Yajñavalkya Samhitā, 209.

Yajur Veda, 167.

Yama (God of Death), 30, 83, 84, 107,
196, 253, 254, 258.

Yama Purāna, 196.

Yashovarman, 163, 186.

Yāska, 254.

Yogeshwara, 214.

Yogindra (Shiva), 101.

Yogini, Yoginis, 190, 191, 256.

Yogi, 101.

Yogipāla, 125.

Yudhishtira, 8, 9, 116, 122, 129.

Yuga (Ādi Buddha, Dharma), 95.



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